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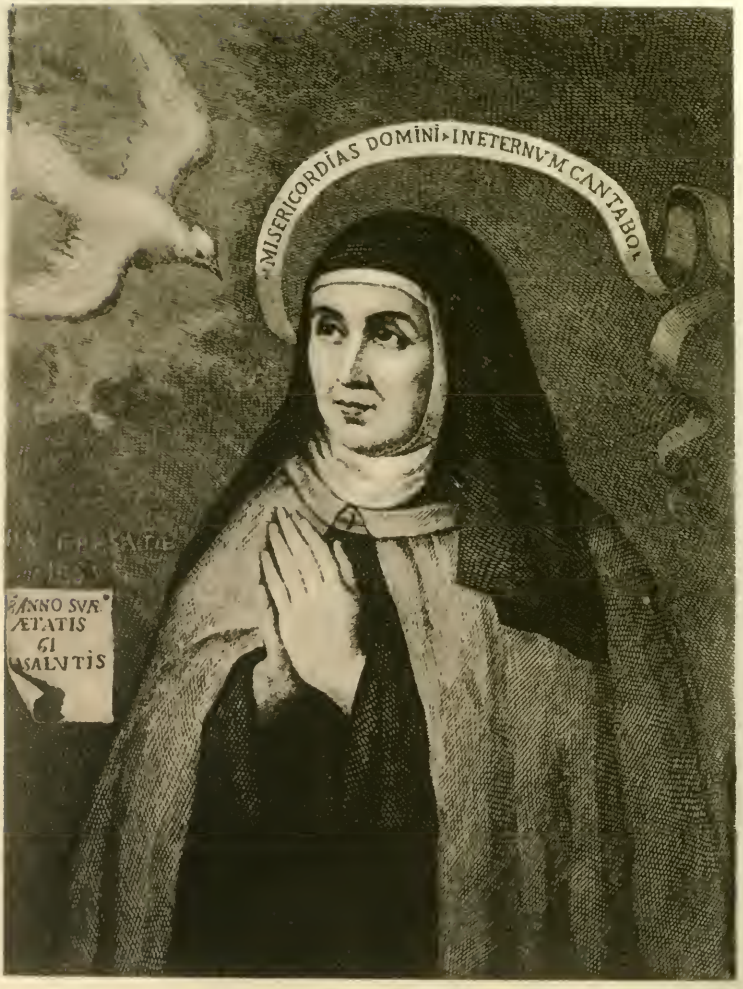
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VOLUME IV

Autobiography During the Religious Wars

FROM THE SPANISH SAINT TERESA TO THE ENGLISH CAVALIERS

(1550–1650)

INCLUDING THE SELF-NARRATIVES OF

SAINT TERESA

SAINT TERESA, poet of heroic virtue; SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, greatest of naval heroes; MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, most loved of Scottish sovereigns; SIR THOMAS BODLEY, founder of the first public library; SIR WALTER RALEIGH, most gallant of cavaliers; MARGUERITE DE VALOIS, fairest of French princesses; DUKE DE SULLY, the friend of Henry IV of France; SIR FRANCIS BACON, foremost of philosophers; LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY, "the black lord", and SIR KENELM DIGBY, prince of lovers and adventurers.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME IV

AUTOBIOGRAPHY DURING THE RELIGIOUS WARS

FROM THE SPANISH SAINT TERESA TO THE ENGLISH CAVALIERS

1550—1630

In the first half of the sixteenth century the great Protestant Reformation was carried to a very wide success, though under very differing conditions, by Luther in Germany, by Calvin in France, by the despotic King Henry VIII in England, and by the people's chosen sovereign Gustavus Vasa in Scandinavia. The second half of the century saw a marked reaction in favor of the ancient Church of Rome. Then followed that most horrible of horrors, religious war. Massacre enforced in the name of God gives the dominant note to all this period, and its tragedy lends a pitiful yet passionate tone to the autobiographies of the time.

These were not numerous. The age found no splendid soldier of fortune like Cellini, no earnest self-analyst like Cardan, to open to us the very heart of man. The reader will, however, encounter here three or four very noteworthy autobiographies; and he will discover in all the memoirs of this period an amazing and most enlightening variety of religious attitudes. The human conscience has lived through many phases, expressed itself in strangely variant forms. We start with the remarkable narrative of Sister Teresa, which may well be accepted as typical of the Spain of her day. Spain had remained among all countries the most firmly Roman Catholic. In that one land, at least, the power of the Emperor Charles had sufficed to stamp out every shadow of heresy; and it was to a monastery in Spain that he at length retired when he resigned his disastrous leadership of the world.

The rearoused and passionately emotional faith of Spain bred mystic visionaries, monks and nuns so profoundly stirred

by love of God and godliness that their ecstasies rose to the supernormal, if not to the supernatural. Among such cases that of Saint Teresa stands out as being at once the most extraordinary and the most fully authenticated. Skilled modern psychologists have taken up the study of Teresa's life with care and earnestness; for here we have the medieval miracle where it is most beautiful and most convincing. No one who reads Teresa's story will doubt that she herself believed that divine Love manifested itself to her in material fashion by lifting her to float through the air and in other ways. Her contemporaries believed it also, not as blind believers rushing eagerly to accept a holy miracle, but as doubtful skepties more ready to see "devil magic" in the mystery, than to welcome it with joy. You will never understand the Spain of the sixteenth century, the stern and mighty Spain that conquered America, that crushed the Netherlands with the hideous Inquisition, and that launched the tremendous "Invincible Armada" against England, you will never understand the secret of its Titanic energy until you have read the story of Teresa. This Spain of the sixteenth century represents intense and honest religious fanaticism at its highest power.

And what of the Protestant England that fought against Spain, the England of Queen Elizabeth? We have no one, deeply revealing autobiography like that of Teresa to show us the spiritual mood of the England of the day. But from several of the foremost English speaking people of the time we have autobiographical fragments almost equally interesting. Compare Teresa with Mary Queen of Scots. When Mary was facing inevitable death, accused of plotting against Queen Elizabeth and a helpless prisoner in the latter's hands, she wrote two dying letters which reviewed her past. One she addressed to Elizabeth in queenly and womanly pride and defiance. The other went to the Pope; for Mary was a Catholic, and one of the chief grievances held against her by her many enemies was her persistent clinging to the ancient faith among her Protestant Scotch subjects and Protestant English kinsfolk. Perhaps her letters are less universally convincing than the writings of Saint Teresa. They lack the steadfast thought and searching faith of the Spanish nun. But no one will question the intensity of Mary's feeling. She writes with

her very heart's blood; her soul is wrung with all the bitternesses of her bitter life, and the salt blood drips with every word.

Contrast her despairing voice, on the other hand, with the true leaders of the England of the day, the men whose valor made Protestantism possible for the future, protected it against the stupendous Spanish assault. We have personal letters surviving from both Drake and Raleigh. There are not many words from Drake, a "self-made" man, a doer of deeds with little time to learn, or to devote to, intellectual self-expression. But Raleigh was a scholar as well as a naval hero, clear and gallant in thinking as he was in fighting. He well typifies the day when science was just beginning to raise her head, when intellectual self-reliance was bringing its first boon to man. By an odd chance of fate Raleigh wrote two "dying letters" some fifteen years apart; and both of them are worth careful reading. Did ever man meet death more nobly, more quietly, or with simpler religious faith? The contrast of his words with those of Mary and Teresa is in a way the very epitome of the contrast between the conflicting religions of their day.

We have only one completed English autobiography from this period. It is brief, and perhaps a bit superficial and mechanical; yet it has attained considerable renown as the earliest actual and intentional work of its kind in our English language. This is the "life" of Sir Thomas Bodley. Sir Thomas and also Lord Bacon introduce us to the more purely intellectual England that was rising on the foundations laid by the dashing heroism of the Drakes and the Raleighs. The later Elizabethans were a darker, grimmer race than the earlier ones; they had lost Drake's enthusiasm and Raleigh's gayety; they thought more, and fought almost as well, but they laughed less. Sir Thomas writes with a grievance. He feels that life has owed him a better return for his services, that his country has owed him a better return; and he outlines his life in the fear that misrepresentation may follow him even after death. He erected too a great gift to his age and to all time, the first British public library. Clearly he had a large idea of the value of literature, a larger idea than most men of his day, and he was anxious to be rightfully re-

membered in literature. Hence most of us who have any love for books are willing to pause for a moment in grateful study of old Sir Thomas Bodley and his stately statement of what his life had been.

A different mind and different type of man stands before us in that other and still greater literary Elizabethan, Lord Bacon. Bacon was easily the foremost statesman and philosopher of his age; but he was a very self-centered man. His career shows that the British nobles were losing that rare sense of freedom, that splendid self-dependence, of the days of the "Invincible Armada." England victorious had become England cautious. The rewards of life were now too rich to be lightly thrown away. Fanatics rise from among the miserable, not from those who live in leisurely ease and comfort. Lord Bacon's attitude toward his own life, his countrymen, and his king, gives us a cynical contrast to that of the earlier writers in our volume.

From yet another country does this age supply us with some most interesting autobiographies. France was indeed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the most literary land in Europe. Germany and Italy were desolated by religious wars. Spain had become fixedly Catholic, England and the far north fixedly Protestant. France lay between the two extremes. Men still argued on either side of the great religious disputes. Sometimes also they fought about it—the hideous "St. Bartholomew Massacre" of the French Protestants occurred in 1573—yet upon the whole, Frenchmen set loyalty to their comrades and their king above loyalty to a religious faith. They still treated war in somewhat medieval fashion as a pastime, and began to write gay tales of personal reminiscences, the forerunners of the brilliant French "court memoirs" of a later generation.

Most notable among these earlier gay French reminiscences are those of Marguerite of Valois. She was the wife of King Henry IV, the most celebrated of French monarchs. Henry was bred up as king of the little state of Navarre, and hence is often named by his early title. He was a Protestant or Huguenot; and as such he barely escaped the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and later had to fight long and hard to win the crown of France. Yet eventually all Frenchmen came to love

and trust him, and when he was once firmly seated on his throne he harmonized the religious factions by becoming a Catholic and loyally protecting both old friends and new.

Long before Henry had won to this great height of his success, he had parted company with Marguerite, the wife of his youth. The two were divorced by mutual consent. They remained good friends, but were each too independent of action for matrimony. Marguerite was reputed the handsomest, sprightliest lady of the age; and her amours had a renown which would be considered the reverse of creditable in our day. She wrote her life, as did Sir Thomas Bodley, with a grievance, meaning to show how little she deserved her reputation; but her protest is made as lightly as her life was lived, and is perhaps no more convincing. Would you appreciate the old French court life? Read Marguerite of Valois; and then put beside her memoirs those of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke de Sully.

Sully's work is in one way much the most important that our volume offers. He was the close friend and chief minister of King Henry IV. It is almost as though that great monarch had written his own life when we can thus read of him through the books of both his wife and his most intimate friend. Sully's work is honored as perhaps the chief treasure of French history. With it however we touch more upon history than upon autobiography. The events in which the great minister of state took part were of such world-wide importance, that we are apt to overlook his personality as we read his work. Indeed he himself seems to forget it. All his interest is so deeply set in serving France and his king, that he quite loses himself. Only the early parts of his work, his picture of his escape from the Bartholomew Massacre, his first fights with young Henry, and such early matters, come forth with a personal note. When he becomes the minister of a king, his thoughts are all of France.

There is much interest in contrasting Sully's writings on this point with those of Bacon. These two were contemporaries, they even ruled during some of the same years; and both were unquestionably great statesmen. Bacon had much the broader, vaster mind; but Bacon never loses self in service. His succession of thought is always "Bacon, the king, Eng-

land, mankind"; Sully's thought is always "France and King Henry," and seldom does it reach beyond. Read Sully by the side of Marguerite of Valois, and you will know the best and the worst that can be said of France.

Before our volume closes, it turns again to England to show in the memoirs of Lord Herbert of Cherbury and of Sir Kenelm Digby the spirit of the next generation of the English gentry, young gallants bred up under Bacon and Sir Thomas Bodley, remembering Drake and Raleigh and Elizabeth only as honored names of the dead past. King Henry of France was assassinated in 1610, and the power of Sully died with his master's death. Bacon was dismissed from office in 1621, and died shortly after. Sir Thomas Bodley died in 1613. So as we advance into the early seventeenth century we come to other men and other manners. The young English nobles contemporary with the English King Charles I adopted a foppish air, became elaborate of dress and fantastic of manners. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who was born in 1583 and wrote his own life up to 1624 long before it was finished, may serve well as the type of his time. He wrote gracefully, he thought keenly, he was a philosopher of considerable note, yet of all these abilities he has little to say in his autobiography. Indeed he belittles them, almost apologizes for them; what looms large to his mind is his personal success in love and dress and armed combat. From Drake, through Raleigh and Bodley to Bacon, and then to Lord Herbert! It is a natural sequence in life and thought and in the development of human civilization, and is worth any man's careful pondering. Some intellectual leaders of a later century have left on record that they could not read Lord Herbert's arrant fopperies without shouting and rolling with laughter. Yet to dismiss Lord Herbert as an empty dandy is to miss the crux of the whole matter. He was a strong man. In the later years of which he does not write, he proved himself also a stern man, and perchance a selfish, evil one. He became known as the "black Lord Herbert."

It will seem plain to most readers that the "gay" and "black" Lord Herbert had missed something out of life, that his cynicism becomes a confession of his failure. If so the reverse is true of his younger and equally fascinating contem-

porary, Sir Kenelm Digby. There are few old books that one may read with such a distinct pleasure in our human nature, as the narrative of Digby. The ever fresh romance of his youthful days is a joy indeed. In general outline you might rank Sir Kenelm as much such a man as Lord Herbert, outwardly a fop yet inwardly a man of energy and intellect. Indeed Digby even more than Herbert ranked in later life as a scientist, philosopher, author and to some extent a statesman. But the similarity fails wholly when we reach to the heart of the two men. Kenelm loved a lady with passion, and believed in her purity despite evidence, nay in the very face of evidence, which makes even our polite judgment of her doubtful. But Digby defied public opinion, wedded his love, lived happily with her, and sat down to write a book of romance which should tell frankly of his own story under a mere change of names, proudly confident that his picture would convince all the world of the beauty and nobility of his lady. Surely such devotion makes her worthy of it. And with that most loyal of all love tales we are glad to close our volume and its period.

From Saint Teresa to Sir Kenelm, for it is worth noting that Kenelm was also a Catholic, of an English family that clung to the ancient faith, from the mystic Catholicism of Spain through the narrow Catholicism of Queen Mary, and the shallow faith of Marguerite of Valois, to the romantic loyalty of Catholicism in Digby, is a lengthy swing of the human mind. So also is the sweep from the Protestantism of Drake, through King Henry and Sully, and then to Bacon and Lord Herbert. Our volume should leave the reader with some definite conception of the vast scope and meaning of the religious wars and religious charges and all the mental tumult which Luther, dying, had bequeathed to a bewildered world.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF EDWARD, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY

By A. C. McGiffert, D.D., Ph.D.

LIKE all other forms of literature autobiography may be either dull or entertaining, but whichever it be it is always instructive. Whether the writer's tale be true or false, somber or highly colored, it infallibly betrays his character. And when we are in the happy case of knowing him in other ways, his story of his own life is doubly revealing. It is not usually the best source to go to for an unbiased account of his career —who could possibly write of himself without bias? But for laying bare the workings of the human heart and letting us into the secrets of human character and motive there is nothing equal to it. What is true of autobiography in general is true in an unusual degree of Lord Herbert's story of his life. Never was written a more revealing tale and seldom one more entertaining and amusing—often indeed amusing beyond the author's intention.

Edward Herbert was born in 1583, the eldest son of a wealthy and illustrious family whose ancestral home was in North Wales, far from the gayeties and distractions of the great world. Brought up in seclusion, and for family reasons married at fifteen to a cousin much older than himself, he passed a quiet and serious youth, devoted to his studies and finding his chief delight in intellectual pursuits. His father died when he was but a lad, and both at Oxford and afterward in London his mother made a home for him and his wife, and he lived constantly under her eye and apparently largely under her control. He showed his filial duty, for instance, in never learning to swim because of his mother's wish, who "had heard of more drowned than saved by swimming." She was a remarkable woman, eulogized both by the poet Donne and by Izaak Walton, who dwells with admiration upon her faith-

ful care of her oldest son. But she is scarcely mentioned in Lord Herbert's autobiography, and it may be, in spite of Walton's assurances to the contrary, that he found her care somewhat irksome. At any rate, when she married again, as she did when he was twenty-five, the craving for adventure, of which he had little enough in his boyhood, laid hold on him, and he made up his mind to start out by himself and see the world. Ten years of travel and adventure followed, and when at the age of threescore he decided to write an account of his life for the instruction of his posterity it was these years his memory lingered on most fondly. His account of them fills nearly half of his autobiography and gives his characteristic charm and flavor to the book. During these years he played the part, or at least he wishes his readers to believe he played the part, of a gay, reckless, and daring adventurer, who loved nothing so much as fighting, who was forever running into unnecessary danger, who wore his heart upon his sleeve and was so sensitive of his honor and so eager to redress the wrongs of others that he challenged almost everybody he met to mortal combat. It is an amusing fact that so far as appears his innumerable challenges never resulted in actual duels. Always in one way or another, through the interference of the authorities or through the pusillanimity of his opponents, the fight was prevented. But his intentions were bloody enough. At the accession of James I he had been made a Knight of the Bath, and during his years of wandering he took his oath with uncommon seriousness; and often with an amusing lack of humor he saw in the most trivial occurrences splendid opportunities for the display of knightly prowess. The naïve vanity with which he depicts his wit, his bravery, his personal beauty, his fascination for women, the honors showered upon him by princes and other great personages, his fiery temper linked with his generosity and kindness of heart, his unfailing victories even against overwhelming odds, his extraordinary presence of mind and his readiness for every occasion however difficult, is one of the most delicious things in all literature. Sometimes his memory magnifies his exploits into feats that recall Falstaff's story of the highway robbery, as when he describes in delightful detail his wonderful battle with Sir John Ayres and his men at arms. But

one need not conclude that his splendid tales of heroism are but figments of the imagination, for we have abundant evidence, besides that of the autobiography, that he bore the reputation of a gallant and fearless cavalier, and as such he wanted his children chiefly to remember him. How pathetically human such a wish in an old and broken man whose adventures were but a memory!

In 1619, through the favor of his friend George Villiers, later Duke of Buckingham, he was made Ambassador to France and entered upon a brief career of public service. The last quarter of his book is devoted to this part of his life. The tale is more sober than that of his days of knight-errantry, but he still likes best to recount incidents revealing his magnificence, his wit, his fearlessness, and his personal fascination, and were it not for other sources we might easily fail to realize that he was actually a serious-minded, diligent, and competent diplomat.

In 1624 he fell into disfavor at the English court and was peremptorily recalled. The incident reflects no discredit upon him—he was too frank and straightforward for the devious diplomacy of James—but it rankled in his mind until the end of his life. He felt himself ill-treated and spent years in trying to regain royal favor and secure the recognition he believed he deserved. He was rewarded with an Irish title in 1624, and in 1629 was raised to the English peerage as the first Lord Herbert of Cherbury, but he did not succeed in getting back again into the public life for which his brief career as an ambassador had only whetted his appetite. His autobiography, though written twenty years later, ends abruptly at the close of his official residence in Paris without even mentioning his recall. Of the remainder of his life he has nothing at all to say. He passed the greater part of it in retirement, finding refuge in study and writing, but he never fully reconciled himself to private life, and his closing years were marked by bitterness and despondency, increased by ill health and by the troubles of the civil war in which he bore himself with no great credit. Death finally came to him in his London home in the summer of 1648. When on his death-bed he asked his old friend Archbishop Usher to give him the sacrament, remarking in characteristic fashion that

it could do him no harm and might do him good. The Archbishop declined to administer the sacrament on such terms and Lord Herbert was content to die without it.

The piquancy of the extraordinary and fascinating story of Lord Herbert's life is enormously enhanced by the fact that its hero is known to history as one of the leading philosophers of his age. Except for the elaborate program of education at the beginning and the reference to his *De Veritate* at the end of his work, there is nothing in his autobiography to suggest a man of philosophical interests and attainments such as he really was. In his original and important work *De Veritate,* published while he was still Ambassador at Paris, he set up common consent as the principal test of truth, and applying the criterion in the religious sphere he reached the conclusion that the only true religion is the religion of nature, which is the common possession of wise men of all ages and races, and which teaches that there is one supreme God, whose worship consists chiefly in virtue, that men ought to repent of their sins, and that there will be a future life of rewards and punishments. All the positive religions, including Christianity, are to be distinguished from this religion of nature. Adding to it as they have done, various unessential tenets on the basis of alleged divine revelation, they have obscured the great and vital truths and have introduced division and dissension where there should have been harmony. Lord Herbert was far in advance of his age, and in a time of unexampled sectarian bitterness he stood for the broadest religious tolerance, giving evidence of it even in his autobiography. His notion of a natural religion always and everywhere the same was artificial in the extreme, but he helped to emancipate the mind of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from scholastic dogmatism, and paved the way for a freer and saner treatment of the whole subject of religion.

It is a curious fact that in spite of his rejection of the common belief in divine revelation he sought and obtained, as he tells us at the close of his autobiography, a direct sign from heaven approving the publication of his *De Veritate.* He also believed in the efficacy of prayer, and was devout in the observance of many traditional Christian practices; for instance he refused to receive official calls on Sunday while

Ambassador in Paris, on the ground that it was his day for private devotion.

In addition to his *De Veritate* Lord Herbert wrote a number of other books, including the well-known *De Religione Gentilium*, and an elaborate historical work on the reign of Henry VIII. He also wrote poetry, some of it of considerable merit, as became the brother of the poet George Herbert. His reference by the way to his saintly brother's character in the early part of his autobiography is very interesting.

If personal vanity seems to the reader of Herbert's autobiography his most conspicuous trait, it should be remembered that he has almost nothing to say of his really great reputation as a thinker. Nor should it be forgotten that his poetry was published only after his death and by no wish of his. It is not a unique phenomenon—a man of ability and character vain and boastful of some trivial accomplishment and not of his real and solid achievements. But to what charming results the foible might lead we could hardly have realized had it not been for Lord Herbert's naïve story of his life. The contrast between his real place in history and his own portrait of himself could not be more striking. Fortunately it was the philosopher who wanted to be known to posterity as a cavalier, and not the cavalier who wanted to be known as a philosopher. At least he was no prig!

SAINT TERESA

THE RENOWNED SPANISH SAINT, TEACHER, AND ECSTATIC VISIONARY

1515-1582

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

The autobiography of Sister Teresa, founder of the religious order of Barefoot Carmelites, is assuredly one of the most remarkable documents preserved to us from the sixteenth century. Modern spiritualists and hypnotists should assuredly study her book as a forerunner of all the marvels they themselves have seen and so differently interpreted. No candid reader will doubt Teresa's ecstasies; but she attributes them directly to God's grace or to the devil's temptings.

Outside her trances Sister Teresa proved herself a most capable and practical woman. She organized a new order of nuns, she founded convents, she served her Church ever ably yet humbly. The story of the life and spiritual experiences of a woman who achieved such memorable sanctity is bound to be of interest to many, no matter what their faith. This noble Spanish girl who fought so valiantly to make a wise choice in her way of life, is an inspiration to all those who follow the narrative of her struggles.

When first Teresa entered on the religious life, it appears that her time and thoughts were somewhat distracted by matters foreign to the convent. The rules were not so strict but that visits of necessity or mercy might occasionally be made. While these visits were not many in number, they were often of considerable duration. Persons in affliction seemed to find great consolation in the conversation and companionship of the gentle nun. But a time was drawing near when all these beneficent visits were abjured by her for the sake of the greater sanctity to be achieved through complete seclusion.

The present chronicle dwells mainly on Teresa's spiritual experiences. The story is not lacking in pathos when we read of her self-abnegation, her earnest aspirations for holiness, and her willingness to suffer all privations and even to encounter cruel misunderstandings in the hope of achieving her lofty ideal of piety. Her high desire and hard work go hand in hand till she at length fulfills her soul's ambition and founds a

new convent—one in which her own ideal of complete sanctity is to be furthered by withdrawing wholly from the world.

A saintly woman indeed! A woman whose spiritual career may be followed with reverence, and whose submission to rightful authority furnishes a glowing example for "ages yet unborn." Happy in the contemplative religious life she chose for herself, she concludes the story of her many marvelous religious experiences with the devout wish that she "may attain to the doing of His will in all things."

THE LIFE OF THE HOLY MOTHER TERESA OF JESUS

WRITTEN BY HERSELF

I. H. S.

THE PROLOGUE

As I have been commanded and left at liberty to describe at length my way of prayer, and the workings of the grace of our Lord within me, I could wish that I had been allowed at the same time to speak distinctly and in detail of my grievous sins and wicked life. But it has not been so willed; on the contrary, I am laid herein under great restrain; and therefore, for the love of our Lord, I beg of every one who shall read this story of my life to keep in mind how wicked it has been; and how, among the Saints who were converted to God, I have never found one in whom I can have any comfort. For I see that they, after our Lord had called them, never fell into sin again; I not only became worse, but, as it seems to me, deliberately withstood the graces of His Majesty, because I saw that I was thereby bound to serve Him more earnestly, knowing, at the same time, that of myself I could not pay the least portion of my debt.

May He be blessed forever Who waited for me so long! I implore Him with my whole heart to send me His grace, so that in all clearness and truth I may give this account of myself which my confessors command me to give; and even our Lord Himself, I know it, has also willed it should be given for some time past, but I had not the courage to attempt it. And I pray it may be to His praise and glory, and a help to my confessors; who, knowing me better, may succor my weakness, so that I may render to our Lord some

portion of the service I owe Him. May all creatures praise Him forever! Amen.

I

I HAD a father and mother who were devout and feared God. Our Lord also helped me with His grace. All this would have been enough to make me good, if I had not been so wicked. My father was very much given to the reading of good books; and so he had them in Spanish, that his children might read them. These books, with my mother's carefulness to make us say our prayers, and to bring us up devout to our Lady and to certain Saints, began to make me think seriously when I was, I believe, six or seven years old. It helped me, too, that I never saw my father and mother respect anything but goodness. They were very good themselves. My father was a man of great charity towards the poor, and compassion for the sick, and also for servants; so much so, that he never could be persuaded to keep slaves, for he pitied them so much: and a slave belonging to one of his brothers being once in his house, was treated by him with as much tenderness as his own children. He used to say that he could not endure the pain of seeing that she was not free. He was a man of great truthfulness; nobody ever heard him swear or speak ill of any one; his life was most pure.

My mother also was a woman of great goodness, and her life was spent in great infirmities. She was singularly pure in all her ways. Though possessing great beauty, yet was it never known that she gave reason to suspect that she made any account whatever of it; for, though she was only three-and-thirty years of age when she died, her apparel was already that of a woman advanced in years. She was very calm, and had great sense. The sufferings she went through during her life were many and grievous, her death most Christian.

We were three sisters and nine brothers. All, by the mercy of God, resembled their parents in goodness except myself, though I was the most cherished of my father. And, before I began to offend God, I think he had some reason,—for I am filled with sorrow whenever I think of the good desires with which our Lord inspired me, and what a wretched

use I made of them. Besides, my brothers never in any way hindered me in the service of God.

One of my brothers was nearly of my own age; and he it was whom I most loved, though I was very fond of them all, and they of me. He and I used to read Lives of Saints together. When I read of martyrdom undergone by the Saints for the love of God, it struck me that the vision of God was very cheaply purchased; and I had a great desire to die a martyr's death—not out of any love of Him of which I was conscious, but that I might most quickly attain to the fruition of those great joys of which I read that they were reserved in Heaven; and I used to discuss with my brother how we could become martyrs. We settled to go together to the country of the Moors, begging our way for the love of God, that we might be there beheaded; and our Lord, I believe, had given us courage enough, even at so tender an age, if we could have found the means to proceed; but our greatest difficulty seemed to be our father and mother.

It astonished us greatly to find it said in what we were reading that pain and bliss were everlasting. We happened very often to talk about this; and we had a pleasure in repeating frequently, "Forever, ever, ever." Through the constant uttering of these words, our Lord was pleased that I should receive an abiding impression of the way of truth when I was yet a child.

As soon as I saw it was impossible to go to any place where people would put me to death for the sake of God, my brother and I set about becoming hermits; and in an orchard belonging to the house we contrived, as well as we could, to build hermitages, by piling up small stones one on the other, which fell down immediately; and so it came to pass that we found no means of accomplishing our wish. Even now I have a feeling of devotion when I consider how God gave me in my early youth what I lost by my own fault. I gave alms as I could—and I could but little. I contrived to be alone, for the sake of saying my prayers—and they were many—especially the Rosary, to which my mother had a great devotion, and had made us also in this like herself. I used to delight exceedingly, when playing with other children, in the building of monasteries, as if we were nuns;

and I think I wished to be a nun, though not so much as I did to be a martyr or a hermit.

I remember that, when my mother died, I was about twelve years old—a little less. When I began to understand my loss, I went in my affliction to an image of our Lady, and with many tears implored her to be my mother. I did this in my simplicity, and I believe that it was of service to me; for I have by experience found the royal Virgin help me whenever I recommended myself to her; and at last she has brought me back to herself. It distresses me now, when I think of, and reflect on, that which kept me from being earnest in the good desires with which I began.

II

What I shall now speak of was, I believe, the beginning of great harm to me. I often think how wrong it is of parents not to be very careful that their children should always, and in every way, see only that which is good; for though my mother was, as I have just said, so good herself, nevertheless I, when I came to the use of reason, did not derive so much good from her as I ought to have done—almost none at all; and the evil I learned did me much harm. She was very fond of books of chivalry; but this pastime did not hurt her so much as it hurt me, because she never wasted her time on them; only we, her children, were left at liberty to read them; and perhaps she did this to distract her thoughts from her great sufferings, and occupy her children, that they might not go astray in other ways. It annoyed my father so much that we had to be careful he never saw us. I contracted a habit of reading these books; and this little fault which I observed in my mother was the beginning of lukewarmness in my good desires, and the occasion of my falling away in other respects. I thought there was no harm in it when I wasted many hours night and day in so vain an occupation, even when I kept it secret from my father. So completely was I mastered by this passion that I thought I could never be happy without a new book.

I began to make much of dress, to wish to please others by my appearance. I took pains with my hands and my hair, used perfumes, and all vanities within my reach—and

they were many, for I was very much given to them. I had no evil intention, because I never wished any one to offend God for me. This fastidiousness of excessive neatness lasted some years; and so also did other practices, which I thought then were not at all sinful; now, I see how wrong all this must have been.

I had some cousins; for into my father's house no others were allowed an entrance. These cousins were nearly of mine own age—a little older, perhaps. We were always together; and they had a great affection for me. In everything that gave them pleasure, I kept the conversation alive—listened to the stories of their affections and childish follies, good for nothing; and, what was still worse, my soul began to give itself up to that which was the cause of all its disorders. If I were to give advice, I would say to parents that they ought to be very careful whom they allow to mix with their children when young; for much mischief thence ensues, and our natural inclinations are unto evil rather than good.

So it was with me; for I had a sister much older than myself, from whose modesty and goodness, which were great, I learned nothing; and learned every evil from a relative who was often in the house. She was so light and frivolous that my mother took great pains to keep her out of the house, as if she foresaw the evil I should learn from her; but she could not succeed, there being so many reasons for her coming. I was very fond of this person's company, gossiped and talked with her; for she helped me in all the amusements I liked, and, what is more, found some for me, and communicated to me her own conversations and her vanities.

This friendship distressed my father and sister exceedingly. They often blamed me for it; but, as they could not hinder that person from coming into the house, all their efforts were in vain; for I was very adroit in doing anything that was wrong. Now and then, I am amazed at the evil one bad companion can do,—nor could I believe it if I did not know it by experience,—especially when we are young: then is it that the evil must be greatest. Oh, that parents would take warning by me, and look carefully to this! So it was; the conversation of this person so changed me, that no trace was left of my soul's natural disposition to virtue, and I became

a reflection of her and of another who was given to the same kind of amusements.

I know from this the great advantage of good companions; and I am certain that if at that tender age I had been thrown among good people, I should have persevered in virtue; for if at that time I had found any one to teach me the fear of God, my soul would have grown strong enough not to fall away. Afterwards, when the fear of God had utterly departed from me, the fear of dishonor alone remained, and was a torment to me in all I did. When I thought that nobody would ever know, I ventured upon many things that were neither honorable nor pleasing unto God.

I had not spent, I think, three months in these vanities when they took me to a monastery in the city where I lived, in which children like myself were brought up, though their way of life was not so wicked as mine. This was done with the utmost concealment of the true reason, which was known only to myself and one of my kindred. They waited for an opportunity which would make the change seem nothing out of the way; for, as my sister was married, it was not fitting I should remain alone, without a mother, in the house.

For the first eight days I suffered much, but more from the suspicion that my vanity was known, than from being in the monastery; for I was already weary of myself—and, though I offended God, I never ceased to have a great fear of Him, and contrived to go to confession as quickly as I could. I was very uncomfortable; but within eight days, I think sooner, I was much more contented than I had been in my father's house. All the nuns were pleased with me; for our Lord had given me the grace to please every one, wherever I might be. I was therefore made much of in the monastery. Though at this time I hated to be a nun, yet I was delighted at the sight of nuns so good; for they were very good in that house—very prudent, observant of the rule, and recollected.

Yet, for all this, the devil did not cease to tempt me; and people in the world sought means to trouble my rest with messages and presents. As this could not be allowed, it was soon over, and my soul began to return to the good habits

of my earlier years; and I recognized the great mercy of God to those whom He places among good people. It seems as if His Majesty had sought and sought again how to convert me to Himself.

One of the nuns slept with us who were seculars, and through her it pleased our Lord to give me light, as I shall now explain.

III

I BEGAN gradually to like the good and holy conversation of this nun. How well she used to speak of God! for she was a person of great discretion and sanctity. I listened to her with delight. I think there never was a time when I was not glad to listen to her. She began by telling me how she came to be a nun through the mere reading of the words of the Gospel: "Many are called, and few are chosen." She would speak of the reward which our Lord gives to those who forsake all things for His sake. This good companionship began to root out the habits which bad companionship had formed, and to bring my thoughts back to the desire of eternal things, as well as to banish in some measure the great dislike I had to be a nun, which had been very great; and if I saw any one weep in prayer, or devout in any other way, I envied her very much; for my heart was now so hard, that I could not shed a tear, even if I read the Passion through. This was a grief to me.

I remained in the monastery a year and a half, and was very much the better for it. I began to say many vocal prayers, and to ask all the nuns to pray for me, that God would place me in that state wherein I was to serve Him; but, for all this, I wished not to be a nun, and that God would not be pleased I should be one, though at the same time I was afraid of marriage. At the end of my stay there I had a greater inclination to be a nun, yet not in that house, on account of certain devotional practices which I understood prevailed there, and which I thought overstrained.

At this time, though I was not careless about my own good, our Lord was much more careful to dispose me for that state of life which was best for me. He sent me a serious illness, so that I was obliged to return to my father's house.

When I became well again, they took me to see my sister in her house in the country village where she dwelt. Her love for me was so great that, if she had had her will, I should never have left her. Her husband also had a great affection for me—at least, he showed me all kindness. This too I owe rather to our Lord, for I have received kindness everywhere; and all my service in return is, that I am what I am!

On the road lived a brother of my father—a prudent and most excellent man, then a widower. Him too our Lord was preparing for Himself. In his old age, he left all his possessions and became a religious. He so finished his course that I believe him to have the vision of God. He would have me stay with him some days. His practice was to read good books in Spanish; and his ordinary conversation was about God and the vanity of the world. These books he made me read to him; and, though I did not much like them, I appeared as if I did; for in giving pleasure to others I have been most particular, though it might be painful to myself—so much so, that what in others might have been a virtue was in me a great fault, because I was often extremely indiscreet.

Though I remained here but a few days, yet, through the impression made on my heart by the words of God both heard and read, and by the good conversation of my uncle, I came to understand the truth I had heard in my childhood, that all things are as nothing, the world vanity, and passing rapidly away. I also began to be afraid that, if I were then to die, I should go down to hell. Though I could not bend my will to be a nun, I saw that the religious state was the best and safest. And thus, by little and little, I resolved to force myself into it.

The struggle lasted three months. I used to press this reason against myself: The trials and sufferings of living as a nun cannot be greater than those of purgatory, and I have well deserved to be in hell. It is not much to spend the rest of my life as if I were in purgatory, and then go straight to Heaven—which was what I desired. I was more influenced by servile fear, I think, than by love, to enter religion.

The devil put before me that I could not endure the trials of the religious life, because of my delicate nurture. I defended myself against him by alleging the trials which Christ

endured, and that it was not much for me to suffer something for His sake; besides, He would help me to bear it. I must have thought so, but I do not remember this consideration. I endured many temptations during these days. I was subject to fainting-fits, attended with fever—for my health was always weak. I had become by this time fond of good books, and that gave me life. I read the Epistles of St. Jerome, which filled me with so much courage, that I resolved to tell my father of my purpose—which was almost like taking the habit; for I was so jealous of my word that I would never, for any consideration, recede from a promise when once my word had been given.

My father's love for me was so great that I could never obtain his consent; nor could the prayers of others, whom I persuaded to speak to him, be of any avail. The utmost I could get from him was that I might do as I pleased after his death. I now began to be afraid of myself, and of my own weakness—for I might go back. So, considering that such waiting was not safe for me, I obtained my end in another way, as I shall now relate.

IV

In those days, when I was thus resolved, I had persuaded one of my brothers, by speaking to him of the vanity of the world, to become a friar; and we agreed together to set out one day very early in the morning for the monastery where that friend of mine lived for whom I had so great an affection: though I would have gone to any other monastery, if I thought I should serve God better in it, or to any one my father liked, so strong was my resolution now to become a nun—for I thought more of the salvation of my soul now, and made no account whatever of mine own ease. I remember perfectly well, and it is quite true, that the pain I felt when I left my father's house was so great, that I do not believe the pain of dying will be greater—for it seemed to me as if every bone in my body were wrenched asunder; for, as I had no love of God to destroy my love of father and of kindred, this latter love came upon me with a violence so great that, if our Lord had not been my keeper, my own resolution to go on would have failed me. But he gave me

courage to fight against myself, so that I executed my purpose.

When I took the habit our Lord at once made me understand how He helps those who do violence to themselves in order to serve Him. No one observed this violence in me; they saw nothing but the greatest good-will. At that moment, because I was entering on that state, I was filled with a joy so great that it has never failed me to this day; and God converted the aridity of my soul into the greatest tenderness. Everything in religion was a delight unto me; and it is true that now and then I used to sweep the house during those hours of the day which I had formerly spent on my amusements and my dress; and, calling to mind that I was delivered from such follies, I was filled with a new joy that surprised me, nor could I understand whence it came.

The change in the habits of my life, and in my food, proved hurtful to my health; and though my happiness was great, that was not enough. The fainting-fits began to be more frequent, and my heart was so seriously affected that every one who saw it was alarmed; and I had also many other ailments. And thus it was I spent the first year, having very bad health, though I do not think I offended God in it much. And as my illness was so serious—I was almost insensible at all times, and frequently wholly so—my father took great pains to find some relief; and as the physicians who attended me had none to give, he had me taken to a place which had a great reputation for the cure of other infirmities. They said I should find relief there. That friend of whom I have spoken as being in the house went with me. She was one of the elder nuns. In the house where I was a nun, there was no vow of inclosure.

I remained there nearly a year, for three months of it suffering most cruel tortures—effects of the violent remedies which they applied. I know not how I endured them; and indeed, though I submitted myself to them, they were, as I shall relate, more than my constitution could bear.

I was to begin the treatment in the spring, and went thither when winter commenced. The intervening time I spent with my sister, of whom I spoke before, in her house in the country, waiting for the month of April, which was drawing near, that

I might not have to go and return. The uncle of whom I have made mention before, and whose house was on our road, gave me a book called *Tercer Abecedario,* which treats of the prayer of recollection. Though in the first year I had read good books—for I would read no others, because I understood now the harm they had done me—I did not know how to make my prayer, nor how to recollect myself. I was therefore much pleased with the book, and resolved to follow the way of prayer it described with all my might. And as our Lord had already bestowed upon me the gift of tears, and I found pleasure in reading, I began to spend a certain time in solitude, to go frequently to confession, and make a beginning of that way of prayer, with this book for my guide; for I had no master—I mean, no confessor—who understood me, though I sought for such a one for twenty years afterwards: which did me much harm, in that I frequently went backwards, and might have been utterly lost; for, anyhow, a director would have helped me to escape the risks I ran of sinning against God.

V

I FORGOT to say how, in the year of my novitiate, I suffered much uneasiness about things in themselves of no importance; but I was found fault with very often when I was blameless. I bore it painfully and with imperfection; however, I went through it all, because of the joy I had in being a nun. When they saw me seeking to be alone, and even weeping over my sins at times, they thought I was discontented, and said so.

All religious observances had an attraction for me, but I could not endure any which seemed to make me contemptible. I delighted in being thought well of by others, and was very exact in everything I had to do. All this I thought was a virtue, though it will not serve as an excuse for me, because I knew what it was to procure my own satisfaction in everything, and so ignorance does not blot out the blame. There may be some excuse in the fact that the convent was not founded in great perfection. I, wicked as I was, followed after that which I saw was wrong, and neglected that which was good.

When the time had come for which I was waiting in the place I spoke of before—I was in my sister's house, for the purpose of undergoing the medical treatment—they took me away with the utmost care of my comfort; that is, my father, my sister, and the nun, my friend, who had come from the monastery with me—for her love for me was very great. At that moment Satan began to trouble my soul; God, however, brought forth a great blessing out of that trouble.

In the place to which I had gone for my cure lived a priest of good birth and understanding, with some learning, but not much. I went to confession to him, for I was always fond of learned men, although confessors indifferently learned did my soul much harm; for I did not always find confessors whose learning was as good as I could wish it was.

I began, then, by going to confession to that priest of whom I spoke before. He took an extreme liking to me, because I had then but little to confess in comparison with what I had afterwards; and I had never much to say since I became a nun. There was no harm in the liking he had for me, but it ceased to be good, because it was in excess. He clearly understood that I was determined on no account whatever to do anything whereby God might be seriously offended. He, too, gave me a like assurance about himself, and accordingly our conferences were many. But at that time, through the knowledge and fear of God which filled my soul, what gave me most pleasure in all my conversations with others was to speak of God; and, as I was so young, this made him ashamed; and then, out of that great good-will he bore me, he began to tell me of his wretched state. It was very sad, for he had been nearly seven years in a most perilous condition, because of his affection for, and conversation with, a woman of that place; and yet he used to say Mass. The matter was so public that his honor and good name were lost, and no one ventured to speak to him about it. I was extremely sorry for him, because I liked him much. I was then so imprudent and so blind as to think it a virtue to be grateful and loyal to one who liked me. Cursed be that loyalty which reaches so far as to go against the law of God.

I procured further information about the matter from members of his household; I learned more of his ruinous

state, and saw that the poor man's fault was not so grave, because the miserable woman had had recourse to enchantments, by giving him a little image made of copper, which she had begged him to wear for love of her around his neck; and this no one had influence enough to persuade him to throw away.

When I knew this, I began to show him greater affection: my intention was good, but the act was wrong, for I ought not to do the least wrong for the sake of any good, how great soever it may be. I spoke to him most frequently of God; and this must have done him good—though I believe that what touched him most was his great affection for me, because, to do me a pleasure, he gave me that little image of copper, and I had it at once thrown into a river. When he had given it up, like a man roused from deep sleep, he began to consider all that he had done in those years; and then, amazed at himself, lamenting his ruinous state, that woman came to be hateful in his eyes. In short, he broke off all relations with that woman utterly, and was never weary of giving God thanks for the light He had given him; and at the end of the year from the day I first saw him, he died.

I remained three months in that place, in the most grievous sufferings; for the treatment was too severe for my constitution. In two months—so strong were the medicines—my life was nearly worn out; and the severity of the pain in my heart, for the cure of which I was there, was much more keen: it seemed to me, now and then, as if it had been seized by sharp teeth. So great was the torment that it was feared it might end in madness. There was a great loss of strength, for I could eat nothing whatever, only drink. I had a great loathing for food, and a fever that never left me. The pains I had were unendurable, and I was overwhelmed in a most deep sadness, so that I had no rest either night or day.

This was the result; and thereupon my father took me back. Then the physicians visited me again. All gave me up; they said I was also consumptive. This gave me little or no concern; what distressed me were the pains I had—for I was in pain from my head down to my feet. Now, nervous pains, according to the physicians, are intolerable; and all my nerves were shrunk. Certainly, if I had not brought this

upon myself by my sins, the torture would have been unendurable.

The feast of our Lady, in August, came round; from April until then I had been in great pain, but more especially during the last three months. I made haste to go to confession, for I had always been very fond of frequent confession. They thought I was driven by the fear of death; and so my father, in order to quiet me, would not suffer me to go. Oh, the unreasonable love of flesh and blood! Though it was that of a father so Catholic and so wise—he was very much so, and this act of his could not be the effect of any ignorance on his part—what evil it might have done me!

That very night my sickness became so acute that for about four days I remained insensible. They administered the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and every hour, or rather every moment, thought I was dying; they did nothing but repeat the *Credo,* as if I could have understood anything they said. They must have regarded me as dead more than once, for I found afterwards drops of wax on my eyelids. My father, because he had not allowed me to go to confession, was grievously distressed.

For a day and a half the grave was open in my monastery, waiting for my body; and the friars of our Order, in a house at some distance from this place, performed funeral solemnities. But it pleased our Lord I should come to myself.

Though my sufferings were unendurable, and my perceptions dull, yet my confession, I believe, was complete as to all matters wherein I understood myself to have offended God. This grace, among others, did His Majesty bestow on me, that ever since my first Communion never in confession have I failed to confess anything I thought to be a sin, though it might be only a venial sin. But I think that undoubtedly my salvation was in great peril, if I had died at that time—partly because my confessors were so unlearned, and partly because I was so very wicked. It is certainly true that when I think of it, and consider how our Lord seems to have raised me up from the dead, I am so filled with wonder that I almost tremble with fear.

VI

After those four days, during which I was insensible, so great was my distress, that our Lord alone knoweth the intolerable sufferings I endured. My tongue was bitten to pieces; there was a choking in my throat because I had taken nothing, and because of my weakness, so that I could not swallow even a drop of water; all my bones seemed to be out of joint, and the disorder of my head was extreme. I was bent together like a coil of ropes—for to this was I brought by the torture of those days—unable to move either arm, or foot, or hand, or head, any more than if I had been dead, unless others moved me; I could move, however, I think, one finger of my right hand. Then, as to touching me, that was impossible, for I was so bruised that I could not endure it. They used to move me in a sheet, one holding one end and another the other. This lasted till Palm Sunday.

The only comfort I had was this—if no one came near me, my pains frequently ceased; and then, because I had a little rest, I considered myself well, for I was afraid my patience would fail; and thus I was exceedingly happy when I saw myself free from those pains which were so sharp and constant, though in the cold fits of an intermittent fever, which were most violent, they were still unendurable. My dislike of food was very great.

I was now so anxious to return to my monastery, that I had myself conveyed thither in the state I was in. There they received alive one whom they had waited for as dead; but her body was worse than dead; the sight of it could only give pain. It is impossible to describe my extreme weakness, for I was nothing but bones. I remained in this state more than eight months; and was paralytic, though getting better, for about three years.

O my God! I wished for health, that I might serve Thee better; that was the cause of all my ruin. For when I saw how helpless I was through paralysis, being still so young, and how the physicians of this world had dealt with me, I determined to ask those of heaven to help me—for I wished, nevertheless, to be well, though I bore my illness with great joy. Sometimes, too, I used to think that if I recovered my

health, and yet were lost forever, I was better as I was. But, for all that, I thought I might serve God much better if I were well. This is our delusion; we do not resign ourselves absolutely to the disposition of our Lord, Who knows best what is for our good.

I began by having Masses and prayers said for my intention—prayers that were highly sanctioned; for I never liked those other devotions which some people, especially women, make use of with a ceremoniousness to me intolerable, but which moves them to be devout. I have been given to understand since that they were unseemly and superstitious; and I took for my patron and lord the glorious St. Joseph, and recommended myself earnestly to him. I cannot call to mind that I have ever asked him at any time for anything which he has not granted; and I am filled with amazement when I consider the great favors which God hath given me through this blessed Saint; the dangers from which he hath delivered me, both of body and of soul.

May it please our Lord that I have not done amiss in venturing to speak about St. Joseph; for, though I publicly profess my devotion to him, I have always failed in my service to him and imitation of him. He was like himself when he made me able to rise and walk, no longer a paralytic; and I, too, am like myself when I make so bad a use of this grace.

VII

So, then, going on from pastime to pastime, from vanity to vanity, from one occasion of sin to another, I began to expose myself exceedingly to the very greatest dangers: my soul was so distracted by many vanities that I was ashamed to draw near unto God in an act of such special friendship as that of prayer. As my sins multiplied, I began to lose the pleasure and comfort I had in virtuous things: and that loss contributed to the abandonment of prayer. I see now most clearly, O my Lord, that this comfort departed from me because I had departed from Thee.

It was the most fearful delusion into which Satan could plunge me—to give up prayer under the pretense of humility. I began to be afraid of giving myself to prayer, because I saw myself so lost. I thought it would be better

for me, seeing that in my wickedness I was one of the most wicked, to live like the multitude—to say the prayers which I was bound to say, and that vocally; not to practice mental prayer nor commune with God so much; for I deserved to be with the devils, and was deceiving those who were about me, because I made an outward show of goodness. And therefore the community in which I dwelt is not to be blamed, for with my cunning I so managed matters, that all had a good opinion of me; and yet I did not seek this deliberately by simulating devotion, for in all that relates to hypocrisy and ostentation—glory be to God!—I do not remember that I ever offended Him, so far as I know.

The reason why they thought I was not so wicked was this: they saw that I, who was so young and exposed to so many occasions of sin, withdrew myself so often into solitude for prayer, read much, spoke of God, that I liked to have His image painted in many places, to have an oratory of my own, and furnish it with objects of devotion, that I spoke ill of no one, and other things of the same kind in me which have the appearance of virtue. Yet all the while—I was so vain—I knew how to procure respect for myself by doing those things which in the world are usually regarded with respect.

In consequence of this, they gave me as much liberty as they did to the oldest nuns, and even more, and had great confidence in me; for as to taking any liberty for myself, or doing anything without leave—such as conversing through the door, or in secret, or by night—I do not think I could have brought myself to speak with anybody in the monastery in that way, and I never did it; for our Lord held me back.

The way of religious observance is so little used, that the friar and the nun who would really begin to follow their vocation thoroughly have reason to fear the members of their communities more than all the devils together. They must be more cautious, and dissemble more, when they would speak of that friendship with God which they desire to have, than when they would speak of those friendships and affections which the devil arranges in monasteries.

I was once with a person—it was at the very beginning of my acquaintance with her—when our Lord was pleased to show me that these friendships were not good for me: to warn

me also, and in my blindness, which was so great, to give me light. Christ stood before me, stern and grave, giving me to understand what in my conduct was offensive to Him. I saw Him with the eyes of the soul more distinctly than I could have seen Him with the eyes of the body. The vision made so deep an impression upon me that, though it is more than twenty-six years ago, I seem to see Him present even now. I was greatly astonished and disturbed, and I resolved not to see that person again.

In those early days, when I was ill, and before I knew how to be of use to myself, I had a very strong desire to further the progress of others: a most common temptation of beginners. With me, however, it had good results. Loving my father so much, I longed to see him in the possession of that good which I seemed to derive myself from prayer. I thought that in this life there could not be a greater good than prayer; and so, by roundabout ways, as well as I could, I contrived to make him enter upon it; I gave him books for that end. As he was so good—I said so before—this exercise took such a hold upon him that in five or six years, I think it was, he made so great a progress that I used to praise our Lord for it. It was a very great consolation to me. He had most grievous trials of diverse kinds, and he bore them all with the greatest resignation. He came often to see me, for it was a comfort to him to speak of the things of God.

And now that I had become so dissipated, and had ceased to pray, and yet saw that he still thought I was what I used to be, I could not endure it, and so undeceived him. I had been a year and more without praying, thinking it an act of greater humility to abstain. This—I shall speak of it again—was the greatest temptation I ever had, because it very nearly wrought my utter ruin; for, when I used to pray, if I offended God one day, on the following days I would recollect myself, and withdraw farther from the occasions of sin.

When that blessed man, having that good opinion of me, came to visit me, it pained me to see him so deceived as to think that I used to pray to God as before. So I told him that I did not pray; but I did not tell him why. I put my infirmities forward as an excuse; for, though I had recovered

from that which was so troublesome, I have always been weak, even very much so; and though my infirmities are somewhat less troublesome now than they were, they still afflict me in many ways; specially, I have been suffering for twenty years from sickness every morning, so that I could not take any food till past midday, and even occasionally not till later; and now, since my Communions have become more frequent, it is at night, before I lie down to rest, that the sickness occurs, and with greater pain; for I have to bring it on with a feather, or other means. If I do not bring it on, I suffer more; and thus I am never, I believe, free from great pain, which is sometimes very acute, especially about the heart; though the fainting-fits are now but of rare occurrence. I am also, these eight years past, free from the paralysis, and from other infirmities of fever, which I had so often. These afflictions I now regard so lightly, that I am even glad of them, believing that our Lord in some degree takes His pleasure in them.

My father believed me when I gave him that for a reason, as he never told a lie himself; neither should I have done so, considering the relation we were in. I told him, in order to be the more easily believed, that it was much for me to be able to attend in choir, though I saw clearly that this was no excuse whatever; neither, however, was it a sufficient reason for giving up a practice which does not require, of necessity, bodily strength, but only love and a habit thereof; yet our Lord always furnishes an opportunity for it, if we but seek it.

My father was not the only person whom I prevailed upon to practice prayer, though I was walking in vanity myself. When I saw persons fond of reciting their prayers, I showed them how to make a meditation, and helped them and gave them books; for from the time I began myself to pray, as I said before, I always had a desire that others should serve God. I thought, now that I did not myself serve our Lord according to the light I had, that the knowledge His Majesty had given me ought not to be lost, and that others should serve Him for me. I say this in order to explain the great blindness I was in: going to ruin myself, and laboring to save others.

At this time, that illness befell my father of which he died;

it lasted some days. I went to nurse him, being more sick in spirit than he was in body, owing to my many vanities—though not, so far as I know, to the extent of being in mortal sin—through the whole of that wretched time of which I am speaking; for, if I knew myself to be in mortal sin, I would not have continued in it on any account. I suffered much myself during his illness. I believe I rendered him some service in return for what he had suffered in mine. Though I was very ill, I did violence to myself; and though in losing him I was to lose all the comfort and good of my life—he was all this to me—I was so courageous that I never betrayed my sorrows, concealing them till he was dead, as if I felt none at all. It seemed as if my very soul were wrenched when I saw him at the point of death—my love for him was so deep.

His confessor, a most learned Dominican, used to say that he had no doubt he went straight to heaven. He had heard his confession for some years, and spoke with praise of the purity of his conscience.

This Dominican father, who was a very good man, fearing God, did me a very great service; for I confessed to him. He took upon himself the task of helping my soul in earnest, and of making me see the perilous state I was in. He sent me to Communion once a fortnight; and I, by degrees beginning to speak to him, told him about my prayer. He charged me never to omit it: that, anyhow, it could not do me anything but good. I began to return to it—though I did not cut off the occasions of sin—and never afterwards gave it up. My life became most wretched, because I learned in prayer more and more of my faults. On one side God was calling me, on the other, I was following the world. All the things of God gave me great pleasure; and I was a prisoner to the things of the world. It seemed as if I wished to reconcile two contradictions, so much at variance one with another as are the life of the spirit and the joys and pleasures and amusements of sense.

I suffered much in prayer; for the spirit was slave, and not master; and so I was not able to shut myself up within myself—that was my whole method of prayer—without shutting up with me a thousand vanities at the same time. I spent many years in this way; and I am now astonished that any

one could have borne it without abandoning either the one or the other. I know well that it was not in my power then to give up prayer, because He held me in His hand Who sought me that He might show me greater mercies.

VIII

It is not without reason that I have dwelt so long on this portion of my life. I see clearly that it will give no one pleasure to see anything so base; and certainly I wish those who may read this to have me in abhorrence, as a soul so obstinate and so ungrateful to Him Who did so much for me. I could wish, too, I had permission to say how often at this time I failed in my duty to God, because I was not leaning on the strong pillar of prayer. I passed nearly twenty years on this stormy sea, falling and rising, but rising to no good purpose, seeing that I went and fell again.

When I was in the midst of the pleasures of the world, the remembrance of what I owed to God made me sad, and when I was praying to God my worldly affections disturbed me. This is so painful a struggle that I know not how I could have borne it for a month, let alone for so many years.

It is true, indeed, that during these years there were many months, and, I believe, occasionally a whole year, in which I so kept guard over myself that I did not offend our Lord, gave myself much to prayer, and took some pains, and that successfully, not to offend Him. I speak of this now because all I am saying is strictly true; but I remember very little of those good days, and so they must have been few, while my evil days were many. Still, the days that passed over without my spending a great part of them in prayer were few, unless I was very ill, or very much occupied.

When I was ill, I was well with God. I contrived that those about me should be so, too, and I made supplications to our Lord for this grace, and spoke frequently of Him. Thus, with the exception of that year of which I have been speaking, during eight and twenty years of prayer, I spent more than eighteen in that strife and contention which arose out of my attempts to reconcile God and the world.

Oh, that I knew how to describe the captivity of my soul in those days. I understood perfectly that I was in captivity,

but I could not understand the nature of it; neither could I entirely believe that those things which my confessors did not make so much of were so wrong as I in my soul felt them to be. One of them—I had gone to him with a scruple—told me that, even if I were raised to high contemplation, those occasions and conversations were not unfitting for me. This was towards the end, when, by the grace of God, I was withdrawing more and more from those great dangers, but not wholly from the occasions of them.

When they saw my good desires, and how I occupied myself in prayer, I seemed to them to have done much; but my soul knew that this was not doing what I was bound to do for Him to Whom I owed so much. I am sorry for my poor soul even now, because of its great sufferings, and the little help it had from any one except God, and for the wide door that man opened for it, that it might go forth to its pastimes and pleasures, when they said that these things were lawful.

IX

My soul was now grown weary; and the miserable habits it had contracted would not suffer it to rest, though it was desirous of doing so. It came to pass one day, when I went into the oratory, that I saw a statue which they had put by there, and which had been procured for a certain feast observed in the house. It was a representation of Christ most grievously wounded; and so devotional, that the very sight of it, when I saw it, moved me—so well did it show forth that which He suffered for us. So keenly did I feel the evil return I had made for those wounds, that I thought my heart was breaking. I threw myself on the ground beside it, my tears flowing plenteously, and implored Him to strengthen me once for all, so that I might never offend Him any more.

I had a very great devotion to the glorious Magdalene, and very frequently used to think of her conversion—especially when I went to Communion. I used to recommend myself to that glorious Saint, that she might obtain my pardon.

But this last time, before that picture of which I am speaking, I seem to have made greater progress; for I was now very distrustful to myself, placing all my confidence in God. It seems to me that I said to Him then that I would not rise up

till He granted my petition. I do certainly believe that this was of great service to me, because I have grown better ever since.

This was my method of prayer: as I could not make reflections with my understanding, I contrived to picture Christ as within me; and I used to find myself the better for thinking of those mysteries of His life during which He was most lonely. It seemed to me that the being alone and afflicted, like a person in trouble, must needs permit me to come near unto Him.

At this time, the *Confessions* of St. Augustine were given me. Our Lord seems to have so ordained it, for I did not seek them myself, neither had I ever seen them before. I had a very great devotion to St. Augustine, because the monastery in which I lived when I was yet in the world was of his Order; and also because he had been a sinner—for I used to find great comfort in those Saints whom, after they had sinned, our Lord converted to Himself. When I began to read the *Confessions,* I thought I saw myself there described, and began to recommend myself greatly to this glorious Saint. When I came to his conversion, and read how he heard that voice in the garden, it seemed to me nothing less than that our Lord had uttered it for me: I felt so in my heart. I remained for some time lost in tears, in great inward affliction and distress. O my God, what a soul has to suffer because it has lost the liberty it had of being mistress over itself! And what torments it has to endure! I wonder now how I could live in torments so great: God be praised Who gave me life, so that I might escape from so fatal a death! I believe that my soul obtained great strength from His Divine Majesty, and that He must have heard my cry, and had compassion upon so many tears.

X

I WISH I could explain, with the help of God, wherein union differs from rapture, or from transport, or from flight of the spirit, as they speak, or from a trance, which are all one. I mean, that all these are only different names for that one and the same thing, which is also called ecstasy. It is more excellent than union, the fruits of it are much greater, and its

other operations more manifold; for union is uniform in the beginning, the middle, and the end, and is so also interiorly. But as raptures have ends of a much higher kind, they produce effects both within and without.

A rapture is absolutely irresistible. It comes, in general, as a shock, quick and sharp, before you can collect your thoughts, or help yourself in any way, and you see and feel it as a cloud, or a strong eagle rising upwards, and carrying you away on its wings.

I repeat it: you feel and see yourself carried away, you know not whither. For though we feel how delicious it is, yet the weakness of our nature makes us afraid at first. I would very often resist, and exert all my strength, particularly at those times when the rapture was coming on me in public. I did so, too, very often when I was alone, because I was afraid of delusions. Occasionally I was able, by great efforts, to make a slight resistance; but afterwards I was worn out, like a person who had been contending with a strong giant; at other times it was impossible to resist at all: my soul was carried away, and almost always my head with it,—I had no power over it,—and now and then the whole body as well, so that it was lifted up from the ground.

This has not happened to me often: once, however, it took place when we were all together in choir, and I, on my knees, on the point of communicating. It was a very sore distress to me; for I thought it a most extraordinary thing, and was afraid it would occasion much talk; so I commanded the nuns—for it happened after I was made Prioress—never to speak of it.[1] But at other times, the moment I felt that our Lord was about to repeat the act, and once, in particular, during a sermon,—it was the feast of our house, some great

[1] This incident has been described by several witnesses. It occurred on the feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1564 or 1565. Yepes says the Bishop of Avila was saying mass, and as he approached the little opening in the grating through which Holy Communion used to be administered, saw St. Teresa lifted into the air in an ecstasy. A niece of the Saint, Mary of St. Jerome, nun at St. Joseph's, reports that Teresa, feeling what was about to happen, clung with both hands to the iron grating. She always disliked such a thing to happen in presence of the community, but when outsiders were present she was inconsolable. She would then attribute it to her weak heart, and ask for a drop of water or some food so as to make it appear that physical suffering was the cause of it.

ladies being present,—I threw myself on the ground; then the nuns came around me to hold me; but still the rapture was observed.

It seemed to me, when I tried to make some resistance, as if a great force beneath my feet lifted me up. I know of nothing with which to compare it; but it was much more violent than the other spiritual visitations, and I was therefore as one ground to pieces; for it is a great struggle, and, in short, of little use, whenever our Lord so wills it. There is no power against His power.

The effects of rapture are great: one is that the mighty power of our Lord is manifested; and as we are not strong enough, when His Majesty wills it, to control either soul or body, so neither have we any power over it; but, whether we like it or not, we see that there is One mightier than we are, that these graces are His gifts, and that of ourselves we can do nothing whatever; and humility is deeply imprinted in us. And further, I confess that it threw me into great fear, very great indeed at first; for when I saw my body thus lifted up from the earth, how could I help it? Though the spirit draws it upwards after itself, and that with great sweetness, if unresisted, the senses are not lost; at least, I was so much myself as to be able to see that I was being lifted up. The majesty of Him who can effect this so manifests itself, that the hairs of my head stand upright, and a great fear comes upon me of offending God, Who is so mighty. This fear is bound up in exceedingly great love, which is acquired anew, and directed to Him, Who, we see, bears so great a love to a worm so vile, and Who seems not to be satisfied with attracting the soul to Himself in so real a way, but Who will have the body also, though it be mortal and of earth so foul, such as it is through our sins, which are so great.

XI

I SHALL now return to that point in my life where I broke off, in order that what is still to come may be more clearly understood. Henceforth, it is another and a new book,—I mean, another and a new life.

When, then, I began to avoid the occasions of sin, and to give myself more unto prayer, our Lord also began to bestow

His graces upon me, as one who desired, so it seemed, that I too should be willing to receive them. His Majesty began to give me most frequently the grace of the prayer of quiet, and very often that of union, which lasted some time. But as in these days, women have fallen into great delusions and deceits of Satan, I began to be afraid, because the joy and sweetness which I felt were so great, and very often beyond my power to avoid. On the other hand, I felt in myself a very deep conviction that God was with me, especially when I was in prayer. I saw, too, that I grew better and stronger thereby.

But if I was a little distracted, I began to be afraid, and to imagine that perhaps it was Satan that suspended my understanding, making me think it to be good, in order to withdraw me from mental prayer, hinder my meditation on the Passion, and debar me the use of my understanding: this seemed to me, who did not comprehend the matter, to be a grievous loss; but, as His Majesty was pleased to give me light to offend Him no more, and to understand how much I owed Him, this fear so grew upon me, that it made me seek diligently for spiritual persons with whom I might treat of my state.

I spent some time in this state, till, after much inward contention and fear, I determined to confer with some spiritual person, to ask him to tell me what that method of prayer was which I was using, and to show me whether I was in error.

I was told of a learned ecclesiastic, dwelling in this city, whose goodness and pious life our Lord was beginning to make known to the world. I contrived to make his acquaintance through a saintly nobleman living in the same place.

It was thus I contrived that the ecclesiastic I speak of, who was so great a servant of God, and his great friend, should come to speak to me, intending to confess to him, and to take him for my director. When he had brought him to speak to me, I, in the greatest confusion at finding myself in the presence of so holy a man, revealed to him the state of my soul, and my way of prayer. He would not be my confessor; he said that he was very much occupied: and so, indeed, he was. He began with a holy resolution to direct me as if I was strong,—I ought to have been strong, according to the

method of prayer which he saw I used,—so that I should in nothing offend God. When I saw that he was resolved to make me break off at once with the petty ways I spoke of before, and that I had not the courage to go forth at once in the perfection he required of me, I was distressed; and when I perceived that he ordered the affairs of my soul as if I ought to be perfect at once, I saw that much more care was necessary in my case. In a word, I felt that the means he would have employed were not those by which my soul could be helped onwards; for they were fitted for a soul more perfect than mine; and though the graces I had received from God were very many, I was still at the very beginning in the matter of virtue and of mortification.

I believe, certainly, if I had only had this ecclesiastic to confer with, that my soul would have made no progress; for the pain it gave me to see that I was not doing—and, as I thought, could not do—what he told me, was enough to destroy all hope, and make me abandon the matter altogether. I wonder at times how it was that he, being one who had a particular grace for the direction of beginners in the way of God, was not permitted to understand my case, or to undertake the care of my soul. I see it was all for my greater good, in order that I might know and converse with persons so holy as the members of the Society of Jesus.

After this, I arranged with that saintly nobleman that he should come and see me now and then. It shows how deep his humility was; for he consented to converse with a person so wicked as I was. He began his visits, he encouraged me, and told me that I ought not to suppose I could give up everything in one day; God would bring it about by degrees: he himself had for some years been unable to free himself from some very slight imperfections. O humility! what great blessings thou bringest to those in whom thou dwellest, and to them who draw near to those who possess thee! This holy man—for I think I may justly call him so—told me of weaknesses of his own, in order to help me. He, in his humility, thought them weaknesses; but, if we consider his state, they were neither faults nor imperfections; yet, in my state, it was a very great fault to be subject to them.

My whole salvation depended on his knowing how to treat

me, on his humility, on the charity with which he conversed with me, and on his patient endurance of me when he saw that I did not mend my ways at once. He went on discreetly, by degrees showing me how to overcome Satan. My affection for him so grew upon me, that I never was more at ease than on the day I used to see him. I saw him, however, very rarely.

Looking into books to see if I could find anything there by which I might recognize the prayer I practiced, I found in one of them, called the *Ascent of Mount Sion,* and in that part of it which relates to the union of the soul with God, all those marks which I had in myself, in that I could not think of anything. This is what I most dwell on—that I could think of nothing when I was in prayer. I marked that passage, and gave him the book, that he, and the ecclesiastic mentioned before, saint and servant of God, might consider it, and tell me what I should do.

Then, when I had given him the book, and told the story of my life and of my sins, the best way I could in general,—for I was not in confession, because he was a layman; yet I gave him clearly to understand how wicked I was,—those two servants of God, with great charity and affection, considered what was best for me. When they had made up their minds what to say,—I was waiting for it in great dread, having begged many persons to pray to God for me, and I too had prayed much during those days,—the nobleman came to me in great distress, and said that, in the opinion of both, I was deluded by an evil spirit; that the best thing for me to do was to apply to a certain father of the Society of Jesus, who would come to me if I sent for him, saying I had need of him; that I ought, in a general confession, to give him an account of my whole life, and of the state I was in,—and all with great clearness: God would, in virtue of the Sacrament of Confession, give him more light concerning me; for those fathers were very experienced men in matters of spirituality. Further, I was not to swerve in a single point from the counsels of that father; for I was in great danger, if I had no one to direct me.

This answer so alarmed and distressed me, that I knew not what to do—I did nothing but cry. Being in an oratory in great affliction, not knowing what would become of me, I

read in a book—it seemed as if our Lord had put it into my hands—that St. Paul said, God is faithful; that He will never permit Satan to deceive those who love Him. This gave me great consolation. I began to prepare for my general confession, and to write out all the evil and all the good: a history of my life, as clearly as I understood it, and knew how to make it, omitting nothing whatever. I remember, when I saw I had written so much evil, and scarcely anything that was good, that I was exceedingly distressed and sorrowful.

I communicated the whole state of my soul to that servant of God, and he was a great servant of His, and very prudent. He understood all I told him, explained it to me, and encouraged me greatly. It seems to me that the Holy Ghost was speaking by his mouth in order to heal my soul, so deep was the impression he made. He made me very much ashamed of myself, and directed me by a way which seemed to change me altogether. What a grand thing it is to understand a soul!

He left me consoled and fortified: our Lord came to my succor and to his, so that he might understand the state I was in, and how he was to direct me. I made a firm resolution not to swerve from anything he might command me, and to this day I have kept it.

XII

After this my confession, my soul was so docile that, as it seems to me, there was nothing in the world I was not prepared to undertake. As to my outward life, the change was visible; for our Lord gave me courage to go through with certain things, of which those who knew me—and even those in the community—said that they seemed to them extreme; and, indeed, compared with what I had been accustomed to do, they were extreme: people, therefore, had reason to say so. Yet, in those things which were of obligation, considering the habit I wore, and the profession I had made, I was still deficient.

At this time, Father Francis, who was Duke of Gandia, came here; he had left all he possessed some years before, and had entered the Society of Jesus. My confessor, and the nobleman of whom I spoke before, contrived that he should

visit me, in order that I might speak to him, and give him an account of my way of prayer; for they knew him to be greatly favored and comforted of God: he had given up much, and was rewarded for it even in this life. He gave both medicine and advice, as one who had made great progress himself; for experience is very important in these matters. I was exceedingly consoled; so, too, was the nobleman, who rejoiced greatly when he was told that it was the work of God. He always helped me and gave me advice according to his power,—and that power was great.

At this time they changed my confessor's residence. I felt it very much, for I thought I should go back to my wickedness, and that it was not possible to find another such as he. One of my kinswomen contrived to get me into her house, and I contrived at once to find another confessor, in the Society of Jesus. It pleased our Lord that I should commence a friendship with a noble lady, a widow, much given to prayer, who had much to do with the fathers. She made her own confessor hear me, and I remained in her house some days. She lived near, and I delighted in the many conferences I had with the fathers; for merely by observing the holiness of their way of life, I felt that my soul profited exceedingly.

This father began by putting me in the way of greater perfection. He used to say to me, that I ought to leave nothing undone that I might be wholly pleasing unto God. He was, however, very prudent and very gentle at the same time; for my soul was not at all strong, but rather very weak, especially as to giving up certain friendships, though I did not offend God by them: there was much natural affection in them, and I thought it would be an act of ingratitude if I broke them off. And, so as I did not offend God, I asked him if I must be ungrateful. He told me to lay the matter before God for a few days, and recite the hymn, "Veni, Creator," that God might enlighten me as to the better course. One day, having prayed for some time, and implored our Lord to help me to please Him in all things, I began the hymn; and as I was saying it, I fell into a trance—so suddenly, that I was, as it were, carried out of myself. I could have no doubt about it, for it was most plain.

This was the first time that our Lord bestowed on me the

grace of ecstasy. I heard these words: "I will not have thee converse with men, but with angels." This made me wonder very mueh; for the commotion of my spirit was great, and these words were uttered in the very depth of my soul. They made me afraid,—though, on the other hand, they gave me great eomfort, whieh, when I had lost the fear,—caused, I believe, by the strangeness of the visitation,—remained with me.

Those words have been fulfilled; for I have never been able to form friendship with, nor have any comfort in, nor any partieular love for, any persons whatever, except those who, as I believe, love God, and who strive to serve Him. It has not been in my power to do it. It is nothing to me that they are my kindred, or my friends, if I do not know them to be lovers of God, or persons given to prayer.

It did a great deal of good to those with whom I used to converse, to see my determination. God be blessed forever! Who in one moment set me free, while I had been for many years making many efforts, and had never succeeded, very often also doing such violenee to myself as injured my health; but, as it was done by Him Who is almighty, and the true Lord of all, it gave me no pain whatever.

XIII

I WILL now resume the interrupted story of my wondrous life.

I felt that I was wholly changed; I eould do nothing but put myself in the hands of God: He knew what was expedient for me; let Him do with me according to His will in all things. I saw that by this way I was directed heavenwards, and that formerly I was going down to hell.

At the end of two years spent in prayer by myself, this happened to me. I was in prayer one day,—it was the feast of the glorious St. Peter, when I saw Christ close by me, or, to speak more correetly, felt Him; for I saw nothing with the eyes of the body, nothing with the eyes of the soul. He seemed to me to be elose beside me; and I saw, too, as I believe, that it was He who was speaking to me. As I was utterly ignorant that such a vision was possible, I was extremely afraid at first, and did nothing but weep; however, when He spoke to me but one word to reassure me, I reeovered

myself, and was, as usual, calm and comforted, without any fear whatever. Jesus Christ seemed to be by my side continually, and, as the vision was not imaginary, I saw no form; but I had a most distinct feeling that He was always on my right hand, a witness of all I did; and never at any time, if I was but slightly recollected, or not too much distracted, could I be ignorant of His near presence.

I went at once to my confessor, in great distress, to tell him of it. He asked in what form I saw our Lord. I told him I saw no form. He then said: "How did you know that it was Christ?" I replied, that I did not know how I knew it; but I could not help knowing that He was close beside me,—that I saw Him distinctly, and felt His presence,—that the recollectedness of my soul was very deep, as in the prayer of quiet, and more continuous,—that the effects thereof were very different from what I had hitherto experienced,—and that it was most certain. I could only make comparisons in order to explain myself; and certainly there are no comparisons, in my opinion, by which visions of this kind can be described. Afterwards I learnt from Friar Peter of Alcantara, a holy man of great spirituality,—of whom I shall speak by and by,—and from others of great learning, that this vision was of the highest order, and one with which Satan can least interfere; and therefore there are no words whereby to explain,—at least, none for us women, who know so little: learned men can explain it better.

My confessor asked me, who told me it was Jesus Christ. I replied that He often told me so Himself; but, even before He told me so, there was an impression on my understanding that it was He; and before this He used to tell me so, and I saw Him not. If a person whom I had never seen, but of whom I had heard, came to speak to me, and I were blind or in the dark, and he told me who he was, I should believe him; but I could not so confidently affirm that he was that person, as I might do if I had seen him. But in this vision I could do so, because so clear a knowledge is impressed on the soul that all doubt seems impossible, though He is not seen. Our Lord wills that this knowledge be so graven on the understanding, that we can no more question His presence than we can question that which we see with our eyes: not so

much even; for very often there arises a suspicion that we have imagined things we think we see; but here, though there may be a suspicion in the first instant, there remains a certainty so great, that the doubt has no force whatever.

God and the soul understand one another, merely because His Majesty so wills it, without the help of other means, to express the love there is between them both.

XIV

It pleased our Lord, one day that I was in prayer, to show me His Hands, and His Hands only. The beauty of them was so great, that no language can describe it. This put me in great fear; for everything that is strange, in the beginning of any new grace from God, makes me very much afraid. A few days later, I saw His divine Face, and I was utterly entranced. I could not understand why our Lord showed Himself in this way, seeing that, afterwards, He granted me the grace of seeing His whole Person. Later on, I understood that His Majesty was dealing with me according to the weakness of my nature. May He be blessed forever! A glory so great was more than one so base and wicked could bear; and our merciful Lord, knowing this, ordered it in this way.

It is not a brilliancy which dazzles, but a delicate whiteness and a brilliancy infused, furnishing the most excessive delight to the eyes, never wearied thereby, nor by the visible brightness which enables us to see a beauty so divine. It is a light so different from any light here below that the very brightness of the sun we see, in comparison with the brightness and light before our eyes, seems to be something so obscure, that no one would ever wish to open his eyes again.

It is like most pellucid water running in a bed of crystal, reflecting the rays of the sun, compared with most muddy water on a cloudy day, flowing on the surface of the earth. Not that there is anything like the sun present here, nor is the light like that of the sun: this light seems to be natural; and, in comparison with it, every other light is something artificial. It is a light which knows no night; but rather, as it is always light, nothing ever disturbs it. In short, it is such that no man, however gifted he may be, can ever, in the whole course of his life, arrive at any imagination of what it

is. God puts it before us so instantaneously, that we could not open our eyes in time to see it, if it were necessary for us to open them at all.

That which I wish now to speak of is the manner in which our Lord manifests Himself in these visions. I do not mean that I am going to explain how it is that a light so strong can enter the interior sense, or so distinct an image the understanding, so as to seem to be really there; for this must be work for learned men. Our Lord has not been pleased to let me understand how it is. I am so ignorant myself, and so dull of understanding, that, although people have very much wished to explain it to me, I have never been able to understand how it can be.

Sometimes my confessor used to be amazed at my ignorance: and he never explained to me—nor, indeed, did I desire to understand—how God did this, nor how it could be. Nor did I ever ask; though, as I have said, I had converse for many years with men of great learning. But I did ask them if this or that were a sin or not: as for anything else, the thought that God did it all was enough for me.

I will therefore relate what my experience has shown me; now and then it seemed to me that what I saw was an image; but most frequently it was not so. I thought it was Christ Himself, judging by the brightness in which He was pleased to show Himself. Sometimes the vision was so indistinct, that I thought it was an image; but still not like a picture, however well painted—and I have seen many good pictures.

He comes at times in majesty so great that no one can have any doubt that it is our Lord Himself, especially after Communion: we know that He is then present, for faith says so. He shows Himself so clearly to be the Lord of that little dwelling-place, that the soul seems to be dissolved and lost in Christ. O my Jesus, who can describe the majesty wherein Thou showest Thyself!

XV

I HAVE wandered far from the subject; for I undertook to give reasons why the vision was no work of the imagination.

For two years and a half God granted me this grace very frequently; but it is now more than three years since He has

taken away from me its continual presence, through another of a higher nature, as I shall perhaps explain hereafter. And though I see that He looks upon me at times with great tenderness, yet so strong is His gaze, that my soul cannot endure it; I fall into a trance so deep, that I lose the beautiful vision, in order to have a greater fruition of it all.

Our Lord showed Himself to me almost always as He is after His resurrection. It was the same in the Host; only at those times when I was in trouble, and when it was His will to strengthen me, did He show His wounds. Sometimes I saw Him on the cross, in the Garden, crowned with thorns,—but that was rarely; sometimes also carrying His cross because of my necessities,—I may say so,—or those of others; but always in His glorified body. Many reproaches and many vexations have I borne while telling this—many suspicions and much persecution also. So certain were they to whom I spoke that I had an evil spirit, that some would have me exorcised. I did not care much for this; but I felt it bitterly when I saw that my confessors were afraid to hear me, or when I knew that they were told of anything about me.

Notwithstanding all this, I never could be sorry that I had had these heavenly visions; nor would I exchange even one of them for all the wealth and all the pleasures of the world.

As my visions grew in frequency, one of those who used to help me before—it was to him I confessed when the father-minister could not hear me—began to say that I was certainly under the influence of Satan. He bade me, now that I had no power of resisting, always to make the sign of the cross when I had a vision, to point my finger at it by way of scorn, and be firmly persuaded of its diabolic nature. If I did this, the vision would not recur. I was to be without fear on the point; God would watch over me, and take the vision away. This was a great hardship for me; for, as I could not believe that the vision did not come from God, it was a fearful thing for me to do; and I could not wish, as I said before, that the visions should be withheld. However, I did at last as I was bidden. I prayed much to our Lord that He would deliver me from delusions. I was always praying to that effect, and with many tears. I had recourse also to St. Peter and St. Paul; for our Lord had said to me—it was on their feast that

He had appeared to me the first time—that they would preserve me from delusion. I used to see them frequently most distinctly on my left hand; but that vision was not imaginary. These glorious Saints were my very good lords.

It was to me a most painful thing to make a show of contempt whenever I saw our Lord in a vision; for when I saw Him before me, if I were to be cut in pieces, I could not believe it was Satan. This was to me, therefore, a heavy kind of penance; and accordingly, that I might not be so continually crossing myself, I used to hold a crucifix in my hand. This I did almost always; but I did not always make signs of contempt, because I felt that too much. It reminded me of the insults which the Jews heaped upon Him; and so I prayed Him to forgive me, seeing that I did so in obedience to him who stood in His stead, and not to lay the blame on me, seeing that he was one of those whom He had placed as His ministers in His Church.

On one occasion, when I was holding in my hand the cross of my rosary, He took it from me into His own hand. He returned it; but it was then four large stones incomparably more precious than diamonds; for nothing can be compared with what is supernatural. Diamonds seem counterfeits and imperfect when compared with these precious stones. The five wounds were delineated on them with most admirable art. He said to me that for the future that cross would appear so to me always; and so it did. I never saw the wood of which it was made, but only the precious stones. They were seen, however, in their glorious beauty, by no one else, —only by myself.[1]

Our Lord was pleased that I should have at times a vision of this kind: I saw an angel close by me, on my left side, in bodily form. This I am not accustomed to see, unless very rarely. Though I have visions of angels frequently, yet I see them only by an intellectual vision, such as I have spoken of before. It was our Lord's will that in this vision I should see the angel in this wise. He was not large, but small of

[1] The cross was made of ebony. It is not known where that cross is now. The Saint gave it to her sister, Doña Juana de Ahumada, who begged it of her. Some say that the Carmelites of Madrid possess it; and others, those of Valladolid; the latter convent possesses three decades of St. Teresa's rosary, but nothing is known there of the cross.

stature, and most beautiful—his face burning, as if he were one of the highest angels, who seem to be all of fire: they must be those whom we call cherubim.

I saw in his hand a long spear of gold, and at the iron's point there seemed to be a little fire. He appeared to me to be thrusting it at times into my heart, and to pierce my very entrails; when he drew it out, he seemed to draw them out also, and to leave me all on fire with a great love of God. The pain was so great that it made me moan; and yet so surpassing was the sweetness of this excessive pain that I could not wish to be rid of it. The soul is satisfied now with nothing less than God. The pain is not bodily, but spiritual; though the body has its share in it, even a large one. It is a caressing of love so sweet which now takes place between the soul and God, that I pray God of His goodness to make him experience it who may think that I am lying.

During the days that this lasted I went about as if beside myself. I wished to see or speak with no one, but only to cherish my pain, which was to me a greater bliss than all created things could give me.

I was in this state from time to time, whenever it was our Lord's pleasure to throw me into those deep trances, which I could not prevent even when I was in the company of others, and which, to my deep vexation, came to be publicly known. May He be blessed forever, Who hath bestowed such great graces on one who has responded so ill to blessings so great!

XVI

When I saw that I was able to do little or nothing towards avoiding these great impetuosities, I began also to be afraid of them, because I could not understand how this pain and joy could subsist together. I knew it was possible enough for bodily pain and spiritual joy to dwell together; but the coexistence of a spiritual pain so excessive as this, and of joy so deep, troubled my understanding. Still, I tried to continue my resistance; but I was so little able that I was now and then wearied. I used to take up the cross for protection, and try to defend myself against Him who, by the cross, is the Protector of us all. I saw that no one understood me. I saw it very clearly myself, but I did not dare to say so to

any one except my confessor; for that would have been a real admission that I had no humility.

Our Lord was pleased to succor me in a great measure,—and, for the moment, altogether,—by bringing to the place where I was that blessed friar, Peter of Alcantara. Among other things, I have been assured that he wore continually, for twenty years, a girdle made of pointed wire. He is the author of certain little books, in Spanish, on prayer, which are now in common use; for, as he was much exercised therein, his writings are very profitable to those who are given to prayer.

I gave him an account, as briefly as I could, of my life, and of my way of prayer, with the utmost clearness in my power. I have always held to this, to be perfectly frank and exact with those to whom I make known the state of my soul. Even my first impulses I wish them to know; and as for doubtful and suspicious matters, I used to make the most of them by arguing against myself. Thus, then, without equivocation or concealment, I laid before him the state of my soul. I saw almost at once that he understood me, by reason of his own experience. That was all I required; for at that time I did not know myself as I do now, so as to give an account of my state. It was at a later time that God enabled me to understand myself, and describe the graces which His Majesty bestows upon me. It was necessary, then, that he who would clearly understand and explain my state should have had experience of it himself.

The light he threw on the matter was of the clearest; for as to these visions, at least, which were not imaginary, I could not understand how they could be. And it seemed that I could not understand, too, how those could be which I saw with the eyes of the soul; for, as I said before, those visions only seemed to me to be of consequence which were seen with the bodily eyes: and of these I had none. The holy man enlightened me on the whole question, explained it to me, and bade me not to be distressed, but to praise God, and to abide in the full conviction that this was the work of the Spirit of God; for, saving the faith, nothing could be more true, and there was nothing on which I could more firmly rely. He was greatly comforted in me, was most kind and serviceable, and

ever afterwards took great care of me, and told me of his own affairs and labors; and when he saw that I had those very desires which in himself were fulfilled already,—for our Lord had given me very strong desires,—and also how great my resolution was, he delighted in conversing with me.

To a person whom our Lord has raised to this state there is no pleasure or comfort equal to that of meeting with another whom our Lord has begun to raise in the same way. At that time, however, it must have been only a beginning with me, as I believe; and God grant I may not have gone back now. He was extremely sorry for me. He told me that one of the greatest trials in this world was that which I had borne,—namely, the contradiction of good people,—and that more was in reserve for me: I had need, therefore, of some one—and there was no one in this city—who understood me; but he would speak to my confessor, and to that married nobleman, already spoken of, who was one of those who tormented me most, and who, because of his great affection for me, was the cause of all these attacks. He was a holy but timid man, and could not feel safe about me, because he had seen how wicked I was, and that not long before. The holy man did so; he spoke to them both, explained the matter, and gave them reasons why they should reassure themselves, and disturb me no more. My confessor was easily satisfied,—not so the nobleman; for though they were not enough to keep him quiet, yet they kept him in some measure from frightening me so much as he used to do.

We made an agreement that I should write to him and tell him how it fared with me, for the future, and that we should pray much for each other. Such was his humility that he held to the prayers of a wretch like me. It made me very much ashamed of myself. He left me in the greatest consolation and joy, bidding me continue my prayer with confidence and without any doubt that it was the work of God. If I should have any doubts, for my greater security, I was to make them known to my confessor, and, having done so, be in peace. Nevertheless, I was not able at all to feel that confidence, for our Lord was leading me by the way of fear; and so, when they told me that the devil had power over me, I believed them. Thus, then, not one of them was able to

inspire me with confidence on the one hand, or fear on the other, in such a way as to make me believe either of them, otherwise than as our Lord allowed me. Accordingly, though the holy friar consoled and calmed me, I did not rely so much on him as to be altogether without fear, particularly when our Lord forsook me in the afflictions of my soul, of which I will now speak. Nevertheless, as I have said, I was very much consoled.

I suffered at times—and even still, though not so often—the most grievous trials, together with bodily pains and afflictions arising from violent sicknesses; so much so that I could scarcely control myself. At other times my bodily sickness was more grievous; and as I had no spiritual pain, I bore it with great joy: but, when both pains came upon me together, my distress was so heavy that I was reduced to sore straits.

I forgot all the mercies our Lord had shown me, and remembered them only as a dream, to my great distress; for my understanding was so dull that I had a thousand doubts and suspicions whether I had ever understood matters aright, thinking that perhaps all was fancy, and that it was enough for me to have deceived myself, without also deceiving good men. I looked upon myself as so wicked as to have been the cause, by my sins, of all the evils and all the heresies that had sprung up. This is but a false humility, and Satan invented it for the purpose of disquieting me, and trying whether he could thereby drive my soul to despair. I have now had so much experience that I know this was his work; so he, seeing that I understand him, does not torment me in the same way as much as he used to do.

XVII

Now that I have described certain temptations and troubles, interior and secret, of which Satan was the cause, I will speak of others which he wrought almost in public, and in which his presence could not be ignored.

I was once in an oratory, when Satan, in an abominable shape, appeared on my left hand. I looked at his mouth in particular, because he spoke, and it was horrible. A huge flame seemed to issue out of his body, perfectly bright, with-

out any shadow. He spoke in a fearful way, and said to me that, though I had escaped out of his hands, he would yet lay hold of me again. I was in great terror, made the sign of the cross as well as I could, and then the form vanished—but it reappeared instantly. This occurred twice. I did not know what to do; there was some holy water at hand; I took some, and threw it in the direction of the figure, and then Satan never returned.

On another occasion I was tortured for five hours with such terrible pains, such inward and outward sufferings, that it seemed to me as if I could not bear them. Those who were with me were frightened; they knew not what to do, and I could not help myself. I am in the habit, when these pains and my bodily suffering are most unendurable, to make interior acts as well as I can, imploring our Lord, if it be His will, to give me patience, and then to let me suffer on, even to the end of the world. So, when I found myself suffering so cruelly, I relieved myself by making those acts and resolutions, in order that I might be able to endure the pain. It pleased our Lord to let me understand that it was the work of Satan; for I saw close beside me a most frightful little negro, gnashing his teeth in despair at losing what he attempted to seize. When I saw him, I laughed, and had no fear; for there were some then present who were helpless, and knew of no means whereby so great a pain could be relieved. My body, head, and arms were violently shaken; I could not help myself: but the worst of all was the interior pain, for I could find no ease in any way. Nor did I dare to ask for holy water, lest those who were with me should be afraid, and find out what the matter really was.

I know by frequent experience that there is nothing which puts the devils to flight like holy water. They run away before the sign of the cross also, but they return immediately: great, then, must be the power of holy water. As for me, my soul is conscious of a special and most distinct consolation whenever I take it. Indeed, I feel almost always a certain refreshing, which I cannot describe, together with an inward joy, which comforts my whole soul. This is no fancy, nor a thing which has occurred once only; for it has happened very often, and I have watched it very carefully. I may compare

what I feel with that which happens to a person in great heat, and very thirsty, drinking a cup of cold water—his whole being is refreshed. I consider that everything ordained by the Church is very important; and I have a joy in reflecting that the words of the Church are so mighty, that they endow water with power, so that there shall be so great a difference between holy water and water that has never been blessed. Then, as my pains did not cease, I told them, if they would not laugh, I would ask for some holy water. They brought me some, and sprinkled me with it; but I was no better. I then threw some myself in the direction of the negro, when he fled in a moment. All my sufferings ceased, just as if some one had taken them from me with his hand; only I was wearied, as if I had been beaten with many blows.

Another time, and not long ago, the same thing happened to me, though it did not last so long, and I was alone at the moment. I asked for holy water; and they who came in after the devil had gone away,—they were two nuns, worthy of all credit, and would not tell a lie for anything,—perceived a most offensive smell, like that of brimstone. I smelt nothing myself; but the odor lasted long enough to become sensible to them.

I wish also to relate what follows, for I was greatly alarmed at it: on Trinity Sunday, in the choir of a certain monastery, and in a trance, I saw a great fight between evil spirits and the angels. I could not make out what the vision meant. In less than a fortnight it was explained clearly enough by the dispute that took place between persons given to prayer and many who were not, which did great harm to that house; for it was a dispute that lasted long and caused much trouble. On another occasion I saw a great multitude of evil spirits round about me, and, at the same time, a great light, in which I was enveloped, which kept them from coming near me. I understood it to mean that God was watching over me, that they might not approach me so as to make me offend Him. I knew the vision was real by what I saw occasionally in myself. The fact is, I know now how little power the evil spirits have, provided I am not out of the grace of God; I have scarcely any fear of them at all, for their strength is as nothing, if they do not find the souls they assail give up the

contest and become cowards; it is in this case that they show their power.

Now and then, during the temptations I am speaking of, it seemed to me as if all my vanity and weakness in times past had become alive again within me; so I had reason enough to commit myself into the hands of God. Then I was tormented by the thought that, as these things came back to my memory, I must be utterly in the power of Satan, until my confessor consoled me; for I imagined that even the first movement towards an evil thought ought not to have come near one who had received from our Lord such great graces as I had.

At other times I was much tormented—and even now I am tormented—when I saw people make much of me, particularly great people, and when they spake well of me. I have suffered, and still suffer, much in this way. I think at once of the life of Christ and of the Saints, and then my life seems the reverse of theirs, for they received nothing but contempt and ill-treatment. All this makes me afraid; I dare not lift up my head, and I wish nobody saw me at all. It is not thus with me when I am persecuted; then my soul is so conscious of strength, though the body suffers, and though I am in other ways afflicted, that I do not know how this can be; but so it is,—and my soul seems then to be a queen in its kingdom, having everything under its feet.

I had such a thought now and then—and, indeed, for many days together. I regarded it as a sign of virtue and of humility; but I see clearly now it was nothing else but a temptation. A Dominican friar, of great learning, showed it to me very plainly. When I considered that the graces which our Lord had bestowed upon me might come to the knowledge of the public, my sufferings became so excessive as greatly to disturb my soul. They went so far that I made up my mind, while thinking of it, that I would rather be buried alive than have these things known. And so, when I began to be profoundly recollected, or to fall into a trance, which I could not resist even in public, I was so ashamed of myself that I would not appear where people might see me.

I thought a few years ago, not only that I was detached from my kindred, but that they were a burden to me; and

certainly it was so, for I could not endure their conversation. An affair of some importance had to be settled, and I had to remain with a sister of mine, for whom I had always before had a great affection. The conversation we had together, though she is better than I am, did not please me; for it could not always be on subjects I preferred, owing to the difference of our conditions—she being married. I was therefore as much alone as I could; yet I felt that her troubles gave me more trouble than did those of my neighbors, and even some anxiety. In short, I found out that I was not so detached as I thought, and that it was necessary for me to flee from dangerous occasions, in order that the virtue which our Lord had begun to implant in me might grow; and so, by His help, I have striven to do from that time till now.

O Lord, what a shame for me to lay bare so much wickedness, and to number these grains of sand, which yet I did not raise up from the ground in Thy service without mixing them with a thousand meannesses! The waters of Thy grace were not as yet flowing beneath them, so as to make them ascend upwards. O my Creator, oh, that I had anything worth recounting amid so many evil things, when I am recounting the great mercies I received at Thy hands!

XVIII

Some considerable time after our Lord had bestowed upon me the graces I have been describing, and others also of a higher nature, I was one day in prayer when I found myself in a moment, without knowing how, plunged apparently into hell. I understood that it was our Lord's will I should see the place which the devils kept in readiness for me, and which I had deserved by my sins. It was but a moment, but it seems to me impossible I should ever forget it, even if I were to live many years.

The entrance seemed to be by a long narrow pass, like a furnace, very low, dark, and close. The ground seemed to be saturated with water, mere mud, exceedingly foul, sending forth pestilential odors, and covered with loathsome vermin. At the end was a hollow place in the wall, like a closet, and in that I saw myself confined. All this was even

pleasant to behold in comparison with what I felt there. There is no exaggeration in what I am saying.

But as to what I then felt, I do not know where to begin, if I were to describe it; it is utterly inexplicable. I felt a fire in my soul. I cannot see how it is possible to describe it. My bodily sufferings were unendurable.

These sufferings were nothing in comparison with the anguish of my soul, a sense of oppression, of stifling, and of pain so keen, accompanied by so hopeless and cruel an infliction, that I know not how to speak of it.

Left in that pestilential place, and utterly without the power to hope for comfort, I could neither sit nor lie down: there was no room. I was placed as it were in a hole in the wall; and those walls, terrible to look on of themselves, hemmed me in on every side. I could not breathe. There was no light, but all was thick darkness. I do not understand how it is; though there was no light, yet everything that can give pain by being seen was visible.

Our Lord at that time would not let me see more of hell. Afterwards I had another most fearful vision, in which I saw the punishment of certain sins. They were most horrible to look at; but, because I felt none of the pain, my terror was not so great. In the former vision our Lord made me really feel those torments, and that anguish of spirit, just as if I had been suffering them in the body there. I know not how it was, but I understood distinctly that it was a great mercy that our Lord would have me see with mine own eyes the very place from which His compassion saved me.

I was so terrified by that vision,—and that terror is on me even now while I was writing,—that though it took place nearly six years ago, the natural warmth of my body is chilled by fear even now when I think of it. And so, amid all the pain and suffering which I may have had to bear, I remember no time in which I do not think that all we have to suffer in this world is as nothing. It seems to me that we complain without reason. I repeat it, this vision was one of the grandest mercies of our Lord. It has been to me of the greatest service, because it has destroyed my fear of trouble and of the contradiction of the world, and

because it has made me strong enough to bear up against them, and to give thanks to our Lord, who has been my Deliverer, as it now seems to me, from such fearful and everlasting pains.

When I had seen this vision, and had learned other great and hidden things which our Lord, of His goodness, was pleased to show me,—namely, the joy of the blessed and the torment of the wicked,—I longed for the way and the means of doing penance for the great evil I had done, and of meriting in some degree, so that I might gain so great a good; and therefore I wished to avoid all society, and to withdraw myself utterly from the world.

Though in that house in which I then lived there were many servants of God, and God was greatly served therein, yet, because it was very poor, the nuns left it very often and went to other places, where, however, we could serve God in all honor and observances of religion. There were other inconveniences also: we had too many comforts, as it seemed to me; for the house was large and pleasant. But this inconvenience of going out, though it was I that took most advantage of it, was a very grievous one for me; for many persons, to whom my superiors could not say no, were glad to have me with them. My superiors, thus importuned, commanded me to visit these persons; and thus it was so arranged that I could not be long together in the monastery. Satan, too, must have had a share in this, in order that I might not be in the house, where I was of great service to those of my sisters to whom I continually communicated the instructions which I received from my confessors.

It occurred once to a person with whom I was speaking to say to me and the others that it was possible to find means for the foundation of a monastery, if we were prepared to become nuns like those of the Barefooted Orders. I, having this desire, began to discuss the matter with that widowed lady who was my companion,—I have spoken of her before,—and she had the same wish that I had. She began to consider how to provide a revenue for the home.

One day, after Communion, our Lord commanded me to labor with all my might for this end. He made me great promises,—that the monastery would be certainly built;

that He would take great delight therein; that it should be called St. Joseph's; that St. Joseph would keep guard at one door, and our Lady at the other; that Christ would be in the midst of us; that the monastery would be a star shining in great splendor; that, though the religious Orders were then relaxed, I was not to suppose that He was scantily served in them,—for what would become of the world, if there were no religious in it?—I was to tell my confessor what He commanded me, and that He asked him not to oppose nor thwart me in the matter.

My confessor did not venture definitely to bid me abandon my purpose; but he saw that naturally there was no way of carrying it out; because my friend, who was to do it, had very little or no means available for that end. He told me to lay the matter before my superior, and do what he might bid me do. I never spoke of my visions to my superior, but that lady who desired to found the monastery communicated with him. The Provincial was very much pleased, for he loves the whole Order, gave her every help that was necessary, and promised to acknowledge the house. Then there was a discussion about the revenues of the monastery, and for many reasons we never would allow more than thirteen sisters together. Before we began our arrangements we wrote to the holy friar, Peter of Alcantara, telling him all that was taking place; and he advised us not to abandon our work, and gave us his sanction on all points.

There was so much talking and confusion in the very convent wherein I was that the Provincial began to think it hard for him to set himself against everybody; so he changed his mind, and would not acknowledge the new house. He said that the revenue was not certain, and too little, while the opposition was great. On the whole, it seemed that he was right; he gave it up at last, and would have nothing to do with it. It was a very great pain to us,—for we seemed now to have received the first blow,—and in particular to me, to find the Provincial against us; for when he approved of the plan I considered myself blameless before all. They would not give absolution to my friend if she did not abandon the project; for they said she was bound to remove the scandal.

She went to a very learned man, and a very great servant of God, of the Order of St. Dominic, to whom she gave an account of all this matter. That lady gave an account of everything, and told the holy man how much she received from the property of her husband. Having a great desire that he would help us,—for he was the most learned man here, and there are few in his Order more learned than he,—I told him myself all we intended to do, and some of my motives. I never said a word of any revelation whatever, speaking only of the natural reasons which influenced me; for I would not have him give an opinion otherwise than on those grounds. He asked us to give him eight days before he answered, and also if we had made up our minds to abide by what he might say. I said we had; but though I said so, and though I thought so, I never lost a certain confidence that the monastery would be founded. My friend had more faith than I; nothing they could say could make her give it up.

The servant of God told me afterwards that he had made up his mind to insist on the abandonment of our project, that when he began to consider the answer he should make us, and to ponder on the matter, the object we had in view, our manner of life, and the Order, he became convinced that it was greatly for the service of God, and that we must not give it up. Accordingly, his answer was that we should make haste to settle the matter. He told us how and in what way it was to be done; and if our means were scanty, we must trust somewhat in God. If any one made any objections, they were to go to him—he would answer them; and in this way he always helped us, as I shall show by and by.

This answer was a great comfort to us; so also was the conduct of certain holy persons who were usually against us: they were now pacified, and some of them even helped us. One of them was the saintly nobleman of whom I spoke before; he looked on it—so, indeed, it was—as a means of great perfection, because the whole foundation was laid in prayer. He saw also very many difficulties before us, and no way out of them,—yet he gave up his own opinion, and admitted that the work might be of God.

When matters had come to this state, and always with

the help of many prayers, we purchased a house in a convenient spot; and though it was small, I cared not at all for that, for our Lord had told me to go into it as well as I could,—that I should see afterwards what He would do; and how well I have seen it! I saw, too, how scanty were our means; and yet I believed our Lord would order these things by other ways, and be gracious unto us.

XIX

When the matter was in this state—so near its conclusion, that on the very next day the papers were to be signed—then it was that the Father Provincial changed his mind. I believe that the change was divinely ordered—so it appeared afterwards; for while so many prayers were made, our Lord was perfecting His work and arranging its execution in another way. When the Provincial refused us, my confessor bade me forthwith to think no more of it, notwithstanding the great trouble and distress which our Lord knows it cost me to bring it to this state. When the work was given up and abandoned, people were the more convinced that it was altogether the foolishness of women; and the complaints against me were multiplied, although I had until then this commandment of my Provincial to justify me.

I was now very much disliked throughout the whole convent, because I wished to found another with stricter enclosure. It was said I insulted my sisters; that I could serve God among them as well as elsewhere, for there were many among them much better than I; that I did not love the house, and that it would have been better if I had procured greater resources for it than for another. Some said I ought to be put in prison,[1] others—but they were not many—defended me in some degree.

In other respects God was most merciful unto me, for all this caused me no uneasiness; and I gave up our design with much readiness and joy, as if it cost me nothing. I had done, as it seemed to me, all that was in my power.

Our Lord now showed me what an exceedingly great blessing it is to be tried and persecuted for His sake; for

[1] The prison of the convent of the Incarnation is still to be seen. It is a small cell on the top story.

the growth of the love of God in my soul, which I now discerned, as well as of many other virtues, was such as to fill me with wonder.

Satan also contrived now that persons should hear one from another that I had had a revelation in the matter; and people came to me in great terror, saying that the times were dangerous, that something might be laid to my charge, and that I might be taken before the Inquisitors. I heard this with pleasure, and it made me laugh, because I never was afraid of them; for I knew well enough that in matters of faith I would not break the least ceremony of the Church, that I would expose myself to die a thousand times rather than that any one should see me go against it or against any truth of Holy Writ. So I told them I was not afraid of that, for my soul must be in a very bad state if there was anything the matter with it of such a nature as to make me fear the Inquisition; I would go myself and give myself up if I thought there was anything amiss; and if I should be denounced, our Lord would deliver me, and I should gain much.

I remained quiet after this for five or six months, neither thinking nor speaking of the matter; nor did our Lord once speak to me about it. I know not why, but I could never rid myself of the thought that the monastery would be founded. At the end of that time the then Rector of the Society of Jesus having gone away, His Majesty brought into his place another of great spirituality, high courage, strong understanding, and profound learning, at the very time when I was in great straits.

One day, when in great distress, because I thought my confessor did not trust me, our Lord said to me, Be not troubled; this suffering will soon be over. I was very much delighted, thinking I should die shortly; and I was very happy whenever I recalled those words to remembrance. Afterwards I saw clearly that they referred to the coming of the rector of whom I am speaking, for never again had I any reason to be distressed. The rector that came never interfered with the father-minister who was my confessor.

The rector came to see me, and my confessor bade me speak to him in all freedom and openness. I used to feel the

very greatest repugnance to speak of this matter; but so it was, when I went into the confessional, I felt in my soul something, I know not what. I do not remember to have felt so either before or after towards any one. I cannot tell what it was, nor do I know of anything with which I could compare it. It was a spiritual joy, and a conviction in my soul that his soul must understand mine, that it was in unison with it, and yet, as I have said, I knew not how.

Afterwards I saw clearly that my spirit was not deceived; for my relations with him were in every way of the utmost service to me and my soul, because his method of direction is proper for those persons whom our Lord seems to have led far on the way, seeing that He makes them run, and not to crawl step by step.

My confessor gave me leave to prosecute the work with all my might. I saw well enough the trouble I exposed myself to, for I was utterly alone, and able to do so very little. We agreed that it should be carried on with the utmost secrecy; and so I contrived that one of my sisters, who lived out of the town, should buy a house, and prepare it as if for herself, with money which our Lord provided for us.[2] I made it a great point to do nothing against obedience; but I knew that if I spoke of it to my superiors all was lost, as on the former occasion, and worse even might happen. In holding the money, in finding the house, in treating for it, in putting it in order, I had so much to suffer; and, for the most part, I had to suffer alone, though my friend did what she could: she could do but little, and that was almost nothing. Beyond giving her name and her countenance, the whole of the trouble was mine; and that fell upon me in so many ways that I am astonished now how I could have borne it.

Once when I was in one of my difficulties, not knowing what to do, unable to pay the workmen, St. Joseph, my true father and lord, appeared to me, and gave me to understand that money would not be wanting, and I must hire the workmen. So I did, though I was penniless; and our Lord, in

[2] The money was a present from her brother, Don Lorenzo de Cepeda, at that time royal treasurer at Quito; and the Saint acknowledges the receipt of it, and confesses the use made of it, in a letter to her brother, written in Avila, Dec. 30, 1561.

a way that filled those who heard of it with wonder, provided for me. The house offered me was too small,—so much so, that it seemed as if it could never be made into a monastery, —and I wished to buy another, but had not the means, and there was neither way nor means to do so. I knew not what to do. There was another little house close to the one we had, which might have formed a small church. One day, after Communion, our Lord said to me, I have already bidden thee to go in anyhow. And then, as if exclaiming, said: Oh, covetousness of the human race, thinking that even the whole earth is too little for it! how often have I slept in the open air, because I had no place to shelter Me? I was alarmed, and saw that He had good reasons to complain. I went to the little house, arranged the divisions of it, and found that it would make a sufficient, though small monastery.

As I was going to Communion on her feast, St. Clare appeared to me in great beauty, and bade me take courage, and go on with what I had begun; she would help me. I began to have a great devotion to St. Clare; and she has so truly kept her word, that a monastery of nuns of her Order in our neighborhood helped us to live; and, what is of more importance, by little and little she so perfectly fulfilled my desire that the poverty which the blessed Saint observes in her own house is observed in this, and we are living on alms. It cost me no small labor to have this matter settled by the plenary sanction and authority of the Holy Father, so that it shall never be otherwise, and we possess no revenues. Our Lord is doing more for us—perhaps we owe it to the prayers of this blessed Saint; for, without our asking anybody, His Majesty supplies most abundantly all our wants. May He be blessed forever!

On one of these days—it was the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady—I was in the church of the monastery of the Order of the glorious St. Dominic, thinking of the events of my wretched life, and of the many sins which in times past I had confessed in that house. I fell into so profound a trance that I was, as it were, beside myself. I sat down, and it seemed as if I could neither see the Elevation nor hear Mass. This afterwards became a scruple to me. I thought

then, when I was in that state, that I saw myself clothed with a garment of excessive whiteness and splendor. At first I did not see who was putting it on me. Afterwards I saw our Lady on my right hand, and my father St. Joseph on my left, clothing me with that garment. I was given to understand that I was then cleansed from my sins. When I had been thus clad—I was filled with the utmost delight and joy—our Lady seemed at once to take me by both hands. She said that I pleased her very much by being devout to the glorious St. Joseph; that I might rely on it my desires about the monastery were accomplished, and that our Lord and they too would be greatly honored in it; that I was to be afraid of no failure whatever, though the obedience under which it would be placed might not be according to my mind, because they would watch over us, and because her Son had promised to be with us—and, as a proof of this, she would give me that jewel. She then seemed to throw around my neck a most splendid necklace of gold, from which hung a cross of great value. The stones and gold were so different from any in this world that there is nothing wherewith to compare them. The beauty of them is such as can be conceived by no imagination,—and no understanding can find out the materials of the robe, nor picture to itself the splendors which our Lord revealed, in comparison with which all the material splendors of earth, so to say, are a daubing of soot.

This beauty, which I saw in our Lady, was exceedingly grand, though I did not trace it in any particular feature, but rather in the whole form of her face. She was clothed in white, and her garments shone with excessive luster, that was not dazzling but soft. I did not see St. Joseph so distinctly, though I saw clearly that he was there, as in the visions of which I spoke before, in which nothing is seen. Our Lady seemed to be very young.

When they had been with me for a while,—I, too, in the greatest delight and joy, greater than I had ever had before, as I think, and with which I wished never to part,—I saw them, so it seemed, ascend up to heaven, attended by a great multitude of angels. I was left in great loneliness, though so comforted and raised up, so recollected in prayer

and softened, that I was for some time unable to move or speak—being, as it were, beside myself. I was now possessed by a strong desire to be consumed for the love of God, and by other affections of the same kind. Everything took place in such a way that I could never have a doubt—though I often tried—that the vision came from God. It left me in the greatest consolation and peace.

XX

Now, though I was very careful that no one should know what we were doing, all this work could not be carried on so secretly as not to come to the knowledge of divers persons; some believed in it, others did not. I was in great fear lest the Provincial should be spoken to about it when he came, and find himself compelled to order me to give it up; and if he did so, it would have been abandoned at once. Our Lord provided against it in this way. In a large city, more than twenty leagues distant, was a lady in great distress on account of her husband's death. She was in such extreme affliction that fears were entertained about her life. She had heard of me, a poor sinner,—for our Lord had provided that,—and men spoke well to her of me, for the sake of other good works which resulted from it. This lady knew the Provincial well; and as she was a person of some consideration, and knew that I lived in a monastery the nuns of which were permitted to go out, our Lord made her desire much to see me.

The Provincial sent me an order, charging me in virtue of my obedience to go immediately, with one companion.

I obeyed the rector, and went without fear, because of what I had understood in prayer, though in the greatest confusion when I thought of the reasons why they sent for me, and how very much they were deceived.

It was the good pleasure of our Lord that the lady who sent for me should be so much consoled, that a visible improvement was the immediate result: she was comforted every day more and more. This was very remarkable, because, as I said before, her suffering had reduced her to great straits. She conceived a great affection for me—I, too, for her, because of her goodness; but all was as it were a cross for me;

for the comforts of her house were a great torment, and her making so much of me made me afraid.

XXI

When I was staying with this lady, in whose house I remained more than six months, our Lord ordained that a holy woman of our Order should hear of me, who was more than seventy leagues away from the place. She happened to travel this way, and went some leagues out of her road that she might see me. Our Lord had moved her in the same year, and in the same month of the year, that He had moved me, to found another monastery of the Order; and as He had given her this desire, she sold all she possessed, and went to Rome to obtain the necessary faculties. She went on foot, and barefooted. She is a woman of great penance and prayer, and one to whom our Lord gave many graces; and our Lady appeared to her, and commanded her to undertake this work. Her progress in the service of our Lord was so much greater than mine that I was ashamed to stand in her presence. She showed me Briefs she brought from Rome, and during the fortnight she remained with me we laid our plan for the founding of these monasteries.

At this time, because of my entreaties,—for the lady had never seen the holy friar, Peter of Alcantara,—it pleased our Lord to bring him to her house. As he was a great lover of poverty, and had lived in it for so many years, he knew well the treasures it contains, and so he was a great help to me; he charged me on no account whatever to give up my purpose.

At this time, my Provincial withdrew the order and the obedience, in virtue of which I was staying in that house. He left it to me to do as I liked: if I wished to return, I might do so; if I wished to remain I might also do so for a certain time. But during that time the elections in my convent would take place, and I was told that many of the nuns wished to lay on me the burden of superiorship. The very thought of this alone was a great torment to me; for though I was resolved readily to undergo any kind of martyrdom for God, I could not persuade myself at all to accept this; for, I never wished for it, nor for any other office,—on the con-

trary, had always refused them,—it seemed to me that my conscience would be in great danger; and so I praised God that I was not then in my convent. I wrote to my friends and asked them not to vote for me.

When I was rejoicing that I was not in that trouble, our Lord said to me that I was on no account to keep away; that as I longed for a cross, there was one ready for me, and that a heavy one: that I was not to throw it away, but go on with resolution; He would help me, and I must go at once. I was very much distressed, and did nothing but weep, because I thought that my cross was to be the office of prioress; and, as I have just said, I could not persuade myself that it would be at all good for my soul—nor could I see any means by which it would be.

In short, I was in such a state of torment, that I begged the lady to let me go; for my confessor, when he saw the plight I was in, had already told me to go, God having moved him as He had moved me. The lady felt my departure very much, and that was another pain to bear; for it had cost her much trouble, and diverse importunities of the Provincial, to have me in her house.

O my Lord! how Thou dost show Thy power! There is no need to seek reasons for Thy will; for with Thee, against all natural reason, all things are possible: so That thou teachest clearly there is no need of anything but of loving Thee [1] in earnest, and really giving up everything for Thee, in order that Thou, O my Lord, mightest make everything very easy for me.

[1] When the workmen were busy with the building, a nephew of the Saint, the child of her sister and Don Juan de Ovalle, was struck by some falling stones and killed. The workmen took the child to his mother; and the Saint, then in the house of Doña Guiomar de Ulloa, was sent for. Doña Guiomar took the dead boy into her arms, gave him to the Saint, saying that it was a grievous blow to the father and mother, and that she must obtain his life from God. The Saint took the body, and, laying it in her lap, ordered those around her to cease their lamentations, of whom her sister was naturally the loudest, and be silent. Then, covering her face and her body with her veil, she prayed to God, and God gave the child his life again. The little boy soon after ran up to his aunt and thanked her for what she had done. In after-years the child used to say to the Saint that, as she had deprived him of the bliss of heaven by bringing him back to life, she was bound to see that he did not suffer loss. Don Gonzalo died three years after St. Teresa, when he was twenty-eight years of age.

XXII

HAVING now left that city, I traveled in great joy, resolved to suffer most willingly whatever our Lord might be pleased to lay upon me. On the night of my arrival here, came also from Rome the commission and the Brief for the erection of the monastery. I was astonished myself, and so were those who knew how our Lord hastened my coming, when they saw how necessary it was, and in what a moment our Lord had brought me back. I found here the Bishop and the holy friar, Peter of Alcantara. It was the approbation of the holy old man, and the great trouble he took to make now this one, now that one, help us, that did the whole work. If I had not come at the moment, as I have just said, I do not see how it could have been done; for the holy man was here but a short time,—I think not quite eight days,—during which he was also ill; and almost immediately afterwards our Lord took him to Himself. It seems as if His Majesty reserved him till this affair was ended, because now for some time—I think for more than two years—he had been very ill.

When everything was settled, our Lord was pleased that some of us should take the habit on St. Bartholomew's Day. The most Holy Sacrament began to dwell in the house at the same time. With full sanction and authority, then, our monastery of our most glorious father St. Joseph was founded in the year 1562.[1]

I felt as if I were in bliss, when I saw the most Holy Sacrament reserved, with four poor orphans,—for they were received without a dowry,—and great servants of God, established in the house. It was our aim from the beginning to receive only those who, by their example, might be the foundation on which we could build up what we had in view —great perfection and prayer—and effect a work which I believed to be for the service of our Lord, and to the honor of the habit of His glorious Mother.

[1] The bell which the Saint had provided for the convent weighed less than three pounds, and remained in the monastery for a hundred years, till it was sent by order of the General to the monastery of Pastrana, where the general chapters were held. There the friars assembled at the sound of the bell, which rang for the first Mass of the Carmelite Reform (*Reforma*, bk. i. ch. xlvi. 1). It is now once more at the convent of St. Joseph.

It is the greatest consolation to me to find myself among those who are so detached. Their occupation is to learn how they may advance in the service of God. Solitude is their delight; and the thought of being visited by any one, even of their nearest kindred, is a trial, unless it helps them to kindle more and more their love of the Bridegroom. Accordingly, none come to this house who do not aim at this; otherwise they neither give nor receive any pleasure from their visits. Their conversation is of God only; and so he whose conversation is different does not understand them, and they do not understand him.

All the trouble we had to go through, as it seems to me, will have been endured to good purpose.

And now, though the rule be somewhat severe,—for we never eat flesh except in cases of necessity, fast eight months in the year, and practice some other austerities besides, according to the primitive rule,—yet the sisters think it light on many points, and so they have other observances, which we have thought necessary for the more perfect keeping of it. And I trust in our Lord that what we have begun will prosper more and more, according to the promise of His Majesty.

XXIII

One night I was so unwell that I thought I might be excused making my prayer; so I took my rosary, that I might employ myself in vocal prayer, trying not to be recollected in my understanding, though outwardly I was recollected, being in my oratory. These little precautions are of no use when our Lord will have it otherwise. I remained there but a few moments thus, when I was rapt in spirit with such violence that I could make no resistance whatever. It seemed to me that I was taken up to heaven; and the first persons I saw there were my father and my mother. I saw other things also; but the time was no longer than that in which the *Ave Maria* might be said, and I was amazed at it, looking on it all as too great a grace for me. But as to the shortness of the time, it might have been longer, only it was all done in a very short space.

I was afraid it might be an illusion; but as I did not think

so, I knew not what to do, because I was very much ashamed to go to my confessor about it. At last, though I felt it exceedingly, I went to my confessor; for I never dared to keep secret anything of this kind, however much it distressed me to speak of them, owing to the great fear I had of being deceived. When my confessor saw how much I was suffering, he consoled me greatly, and gave me plenty of good reasons why I should have no fear.

I was in this state once for more than an hour, our Lord showing me wonderful things. He seemed as if He would not leave me. Afterwards I wished I had continued in that trance forever, and that I had not returned to consciousness, because of an abiding sense of contempt for everything here below; all seemed to be filth; and I see how meanly we employ ourselves who are detained on earth.

One day—it was the eve of Pentecost—I went after Mass to a very lonely spot, where I used to pray very often, and began to read about the feast in the book of a Carthusian; and reading of the marks by which beginners, proficients, and the perfect may know that they have the Holy Ghost, it seemed to me, when I had read of these three states, that by the goodness of God, so far as I could understand, the Holy Ghost was with me.

While thinking of these things, my soul was carried away with extreme violence, and I knew not why. It seemed as if it would have gone forth out of the body, for it could not contain itself, nor was it able to hope for so great a good. I leaned for support, for I could not sit, because my natural strength had utterly failed.

Then I saw over my head a dove, very different from those we usually see, for it had not the same plumage, but wings formed of small shells shining brightly. It was larger than an ordinary dove; I thought I heard the rustling of its wings. It hovered above me during the space of an *Ave Maria*. But such was the state of my soul, that in losing itself it lost also the sight of the dove. My spirit grew calm with such a guest; and yet, as I think, a grace so wonderful might have disturbed and frightened it; and as it began to rejoice in the vision, it was delivered from all fear, and with the joy came peace, my soul continuing entranced. The joy of

this rapture was exceedingly great; and for the rest of that festal time I was so amazed and bewildered that I did not know what I was doing, nor how I could have received so great a grace. I neither heard nor saw anything, so to speak, because of my great inward joy. From that day forth I perceived in myself a very great progress in the highest love of God, together with a great increase in the strength of my virtues.

At another time I saw our Lady putting a cope of exceeding whiteness on that Licentiate of the same Order, of whom I have made mention more than once. She told me that she gave him that cope in consideration of the service he had rendered her by helping to found this house, that it was a sign that she would preserve his soul pure for the future, and that he should not fall into mortal sin. I hold it for certain that so it came to pass, for he died within a few years; his death and the rest of his life were so penitential, his whole life and death so holy, that, so far as anything can be known, there cannot be a doubt on the subject.

I had a vision of the most Sacred Humanity in exceeding glory, greater than I had ever seen It in before. I beheld It in a wonderful and clear way in the bosom of the Father. I cannot tell how it was, for I saw myself, without seeing, as it seemed to me, in the presence of God. My amazement was such that I remained, as I believe, some days before I could recover myself. I had continually before me, as present, the Majesty of the Son of God, though not so distinctly as in the vision.

I have had this vision on three other occasions, and it is, I think, the highest of all the visions which our Lord in His mercy showed me. It is a grand flame of fire, which seems to burn up and annihilate all the desires of this life. For though now—glory be to God!—I had no desires after vanities, I saw clearly in the vision how all things are vanity and how hollow are all the dignities of earth; it was a great lesson, teaching me to raise up my desires to the Truth alone.

XXIV

I WAS once importuning our Lord exceedingly to restore the sight of a person who had claims upon me, and who was al-

most wholly blind. I was very sorry for him, and afraid our Lord would not hear me because of my sins. He appeared to me as at other times, and began to show the wound in His left hand; with the other He drew out the great nail that was in it, and it seemed to me that, in drawing the nail, He tore the flesh. The greatness of the pain was manifest, and I was very much distressed thereat. He said to me, that He who had borne that for my sake would still more readily grant what I asked Him, and that I was not to have any doubts about it. He promised me there was nothing I should ask that He would not grant; that He knew I should ask nothing that was not for His glory, and that He would grant me what I was now praying for. I do not think that eight days passed before our Lord restored that person to sight. My confessor knew it forthwith. It might be that it was not owing to my prayer; but, as I had had the vision, I have a certain conviction that it was a grace accorded to me. I gave thanks to His Majesty.

Again, a person was exceedingly ill of a most painful disease; but, as I do not know what it was, I do not describe it by its name here. What he had gone through for two months was beyond all endurance; and his pain was so great that he tore his own flesh. My confessor, the rector of whom I have spoken, went to see him; he was very sorry for him, and told me that I must anyhow go myself and visit him; he was one whom I might visit, for he was my kinsman. I went, and was moved to such a tender compassion for him that I began, with the utmost importunity, to ask our Lord to restore him to health. Herein I saw clearly how gracious our Lord was to me, so far as I could judge; for immediately, the next day, he was completely rid of that pain that so affected him.

One day—it was the feast of the Assumption of the Queen of the Angels, and our Lady—our Lord was pleased to grant me this grace. In a trance He made me behold her going up to heaven, the joy and solemnity of her reception there, as well as the place where she now sits. To describe it is more than I can do; the joy that filled my soul at the sight of such great glory was excessive. The effects of the vision were great; it made me long to endure still greater trials;

and I had a vehement desire to serve our Lady, because of her great merits.

Once, in one of the Colleges of the Society of Jesus, when the brothers of the house were communicating, I saw an exceedingly rich canopy above their heads. I saw this twice; but I never saw it when others were receiving Communion.

XXV

Now that I am out of the world, with companions holy and few in number, I look down on the world as from a great height, and care very little what people say or know about me. I think much more of one soul's advancement, even if it were but slight, than of all that people may say of me; and since I am settled here it has pleased our Lord that all my desires tend to this.

He has made my life to me now a kind of sleep; for almost always what I see seems to me to be seen as in a dream, nor have I any great sense either of pleasure or of pain. If matters occur which may occasion either, the sense of it passes away so quickly that it astonishes me, and leaves an impression as if I had been dreaming,—and this is the simple truth; for if I wished afterwards to delight in that pleasure, or be sorry over that pain, it is not in my power to do so: just as a sensible person feels neither pain nor pleasure in the memory of a dream that is past; for now our Lord has roused my soul out of that state which, because I was not mortified nor dead to the things of this world, made me feel as I did, and His Majesty does not wish me to become blind again.

May our Lord, Who is all-powerful, grant—and He can if He will—that I may attain to the doing of His will in all things! May He never suffer this soul to be lost, which He so often, in so many ways, and by so many means, has rescued from hell and drawn unto Himself! Amen.

TERESA'S "RELATIONS" OF HER VISIONS

RELATION I

SENT TO ST. PETER OF ALCANTARA IN 1560 FROM THE MONASTERY OF THE INCARNATION, AVILA [1]

1. The method of prayer I observe at present is this: when I am in prayer, it is very rarely that I can use the understanding, because the soul becomes at once recollected, remains in repose, or falls into a trance, so that I cannot in any way have the use of the faculties and the senses,—so much so, that the hearing alone is left; but then it does not help me to understand anything.

2. It often happens, when I am not even thinking of the things of God, but engaged in other matters, and when prayer seems to be beyond my power, whatever efforts I might make, because of the great aridity I am in, bodily pains contributing thereto, that this recollection or elevation of spirit comes upon me so suddenly that I cannot withstand it, and the fruits and blessings it brings with it are in a moment mine: and this, without my having had a vision, or heard anything, or knowing where I am, except that when the soul seems to be lost [2] I see it make great progress, which I could not have made if I had labored for a whole year, so great is my gain.

3. At other times certain excessive impetuosities occur, accompanied with a certain fainting away of the soul for God, so that I have no control over myself; my life seems to have come to an end, and so it makes me cry out and call upon God; and this comes upon me with great vehemence. Sometimes I cannot remain sitting, so great is the oppression of the heart; and this pain comes on without my doing anything to cause it, and the nature of it is such that my soul would be glad never to be without it while I live. And the longings I have are longings not to live; and they come on because it seems as if I must live on without being able to

[1] Antonius a Sancto Joseph, in his notes on this Relation, says it was written for St. Peter of Alcantara when he came to Avila in 1560, at the time when the Saint was so severely tried by her confessors and the others who examined her spirit, and were convinced that her prayer was a delusion of Satan.

[2] That is, so absorbed as to lose the use of its faculties.

find any relief, for relief comes from the vision of God, which comes by death, and death is what I cannot take; and with all this my soul thinks that all except itself are filled with consolations, and that all find help in their troubles, but not itself. The distress thus occasioned is so intense that, if our Lord did not relieve it by throwing it into a trance, whereby all is made calm, and the soul rests in great quiet and is satisfied, now by seeing something of that which it deserves, now by hearing other things, it would seem to be impossible for it to be delivered from this pain.

4. At other times there come upon me certain desires to serve God, with a vehemence so great that I cannot describe it, and accompanied with a certain pain at seeing how unprofitable I am. It seems to me then that there is nothing in the world, neither death, nor martyrdom, that I could not easily endure. This conviction, too, is not the result of any reflection, but comes in a moment. I am wholly changed, and I know not whence cometh such great courage. I think I should live to raise my voice, and publish to all the world how important it is for men not to be satisfied with the common way, and how great the good is that God will give us if we prepare ourselves to receive it. I say it again, these desires are such that I am melted away in myself, for I seem to desire what I cannot have. The body seems to me to hold me in prison, through its inability to serve God and my state[3] in anything; for if it were not for the body, I might do very great things, so far as my strength would allow; and thus, because I see myself without any power whatever to serve God, I feel this pain in a way wholly indescribable; the issue is delight, recollection, and the consolation of God.

5. Again, it has happened, when these longings to serve Him come upon me, that I wish to do penance, but I am not able. It would be a great relief to me, and it does relieve and cheer me, though what I do is almost nothing, because of my bodily weakness; and yet, if I were to give way to these my longings, I believe I should observe no moderation.

6. Sometimes, if I have to speak to any one, I am greatly distressed, and I suffer so much that it makes me weep abundantly; for my whole desire is to be alone, and solitude com-

[3] Fuente thinks she means the religious state.

forts me, though at times I neither pray nor read, and conversation—particularly of kindred and connections—seems oppressive, and myself to be as a slave, except when I speak to those whose conversation is of prayer and matters of the soul,—in these I find comfort and joy; yet these occasionally are too much for me, and I would rather not see them, but go where I might be alone: though this is not often the case, for those especially who direct my conscience always console me.

7. At other times it gives me much pain that I must eat and sleep, and that I see I cannot forego these things, being less able to do so than any one. I submit that I may serve God, and thus I offer up those actions to Him. Time seems to me too short, and that I have not enough for my prayer, for I should never be tired of being alone. I am always wishing I had time for reading, for I have been always fond of reading. I read very little, for when I take up a book I become recollected through the pleasure it gives me, and thus my reading is turned into prayer: and it is but rarely, for I have many occupations; and though they are good, they do not give me the pleasure which reading would give. And thus I am always wishing for more time, and everything becomes disagreeable, so I believe, because I see I cannot do what I wish and desire.

8. All these desires, with an increase in virtue, have been given me by our Lord since He raised me to this prayer of quiet, and sent these raptures. I find myself so improved that I look on myself as being a mass of perdition before this. These raptures and visions leave me in possession of the blessings I shall now speak of; and I maintain that if there be any good in me, they are the occasions of it.

9. I have made a very strong resolution never to offend God, not even venially. I would rather die a thousand deaths than do anything of the kind knowingly. I am resolved never to leave undone anything I may consider to be the more perfect, or more for the honor of our Lord, if he who has the care of my soul and directs me tells me I may do it. Cost me what pain it might, I would not leave such an act undone for all the treasures of the world. If I were to do so, I do not think I could have the face to ask anything of God our Lord,

or to make my prayer; and yet, for all this, I have many faults and imperfections. I am obedient to my confessor, though imperfectly; but if I know that he wishes or commands anything, I would not leave that undone, so far as I understand it; if I did so, I should think myself under a grievous delusion.

10. I have a longing for poverty, though not free from imperfection; however, I believe, if I had wealth, I would not reserve any revenue, nor hoard money for myself, nor do I care for it; I wish to have only what is necessary. Nevertheless, I feel that I am very defective in this virtue; for, though I desire nothing for myself, I should like to have something to give away: still, I desire no revenue, nor anything for myself.

11. In almost all the visions I have had, I have found good, if it be not a delusion of Satan; herein I submit myself to the judgment of my confessors.

12. As to fine and beautiful things, such as water, fields, perfume, music, etc., I think I would rather not have them, so great is the difference between them and what I am in the habit of seeing, and so all pleasure in them is gone from me. Hence it is that I care not for them, unless it be at the first sight: they never make any further impression; to me they seem but dirt.

13. If I speak or converse with people in the world—for I cannot help it—even about prayer, and if the conversation be long, though to pass away the time, I am under great restraint if it be not necessary, for it gives me much pain.

14. Amusements, of which I used to be fond, and worldly things, are all disagreeable to me now, and I cannot look at them.

15. The longings, which I said I have, of loving and serving and seeing God, are not helped by any reflections, as formerly, when I thought I was very devout, and shed many tears; but they flow out of a certain fire and heat so excessive that, I repeat it, if God did not relieve them by throwing me into a trance, wherein the soul seems to find itself satisfied, I believe my life would come to an end at once.

16. When I see persons making great progress, and thus resolved, detached, and courageous, I love them much; and

I should like to have my conversation with such persons, and I think they help me on. People who are afraid, and seemingly cautious in those things, the doing of which is perfectly reasonable here, seem to vex me, and drive me to pray to God and the saints to make them undertake such things as these which now frighten us. Not that I am good for anything myself, but because I believe that God helps those who, for His sake, apply themselves to great things, and that He never abandons any one who puts his trust in Him only. And I should like to find any one who would help me to believe so, and to be without thought about food and raiment, but leave it all in the hands of God.[4]

17. This leaving in the hands of God the supply of all I need is not to be understood as excluding all labor on my part, but merely solicitude—I mean, the solicitude of care.[5] And since I have attained to this liberty, it goes well with me, and I labor to forget myself as much as I can. I do not think it is a year ago since our Lord gave me this liberty.

18. Vainglory—glory be to God!—so far as I know, there is no reason why I should have any; for I see plainly that in these things which God sends me I have no part myself; on the contrary, God makes me conscious of my own wretchedness; for whatever reflections I might be able to make, I could never come to the knowledge of such deep truths as I attain to in a single rapture.

19. When I speak of these things a few days after, they seem to me as if they had happened to another person. Previously, I thought it a wrong to me that they should be known to others; but I see now that I am not therefore any the better, but rather worse, seeing that I make so little progress after receiving mercies so great. And certainly, in every way, it seems to me that there was not in the world anybody worse than myself; and so the virtues of others seem to me much more meritorious than mine, and that I do nothing myself but receive graces, and that God must give to others at once all that He is now giving unto me; and I pray Him not to reward me in this life; and so I believe that

[4] St. Matt. vi. 31: "Nolite ergo solliciti esse, dicentes: Quid manducabimus . . . aut quo operiemur?"

[5] Ribera says that these words were afterwards added by St. Teresa.

God has led me along this way because I am weak and wicked.

20. When I am in prayer, and even almost always when I am able to reflect at all, I cannot, even if I tried, pray to God for rest, or desire it; for I see that His life was one of suffering, and that I ask Him to send me, giving me first the grace to bear it.

21. Everything of this kind, and of the highest perfection, seems to make so deep an impression on me in prayer, that I am amazed at the sight of truths so great and so clear that the things of the world seem to be folly; and so it is necessary for me to take pains to reflect on the way I demeaned myself formerly in the things of the world, for it seems to me folly to feel for deaths and the troubles of the world,—at least, that sorrow for, or love of, kindred and friends should last long. I say I have to take pains when I am considering what I was, and what I used to feel.

22. If I see people do anything which clearly seems to be sin, I cannot make up my mind that they have offended God; and if I dwell upon this at all,—which happens rarely or never,—I never can make up my mind, though I see it plainly enough. It seems to me that everybody is as anxious to serve God as I am. And herein God has been very gracious to me, for I never dwell on an evil deed, to remember it afterwards; and if I do remember it, I see some virtue or other in that person. In this way these things never weary me, except generally: but heresies do; they distress me very often, and almost always when I think of them they seem to me to be the only trouble which should be felt. And also I feel, when I see people who used to give themselves to prayer fall away; this gives me pain, but not much, because I strive not to dwell upon it.

23. I find also, that I am improved in the matter of that excessive neatness which I was wont to observe, though not wholly delivered from it. I do not discern that I am always mortified in this; sometimes, however, I do.

24. All this I have described, together with a very constant dwelling in thought on God, is the ordinary state of my soul, so far as I can understand it. And if I must be busy about something else, without my seeking it, as I said before, I know not who makes me awake,—and this not always, only

when I am busy with things of importance; and such—glory be to God!—only at intervals demand my attention, and do not occupy me at all times.

25. For some days—they are not many, however—for three, or four, or five, all my good and fervent thoughts, and my visions, seem to be withdrawn, yea, even forgotten, so that, if I were to seek for it, I know of no good that can ever have been in me. It seems to have been all a dream or, at least, I can call nothing to mind. Bodily pains at the same time distress me. My understanding is troubled, so that I cannot think at all about God, neither do I know under what law I live. If I read anything, I do not understand it; I seem to be full of faults, and without any resolution whatever to practice virtue; and the great resolution I used to have is come to this, that I seem to be unable to resist the least temptation or slander of the world. It suggests itself to me then that I am good for nothing, if any one would have me undertake more than the common duties. I give way to sadness, thinking I have deceived all those who trusted me at all. I should like to hide myself where nobody could see me; but my desire for solitude arises from want of courage, not from love of virtue. It seems to me that I should like to dispute with all who contradict me; I am under the influence of these impressions, only God has been so gracious unto me, that I do not offend more frequently than I was wont to do, nor do I ask Him to deliver me from them, but only, if it be His will I should always suffer thus, to keep me from offending Him; and I submit myself to His will with my whole heart, and I see that it is a very great grace bestowed upon me that He does not keep me constantly in this state.

26. One thing astonishes me: it is that, while I am in this state, through a single word of those I am in the habit of hearing, or a single vision, or a little self-recollection, lasting but an *Ave Maria,* or through my drawing near to communicate, I find my soul and body so calm, so sound, the understanding so clear, and myself possessing all the strength and all the good desires I usually have. And this I have had experience of very often—at least when I go to Communion; it is more than six months ago that I felt a clear improvement in my bodily health, and that occasionally brought about

by raptures, and I find it lasts sometimes more than three hours, at other times I am much stronger for a whole day; and I do not think it is fancy, for I have considered the matter, and reflected on it. Accordingly, when I am thus recollected, I fear no illness. The truth is, that when I pray, as I was accustomed to do before, I feel no improvement.

27. All these things of which I am speaking make me believe that it comes from God; for when I see what once I was, that I was in the way of being lost, and that soon, my soul certainly is astonished at these things, without knowing whence these virtues came to me; I did not know myself, and saw that all was a gift, and not the fruit of my labors. I understand in all truthfulness and sincerity, and see that I am not deluded, that it has been not only the means of drawing me to God in His service, but of saving me also from hell. This my confessors know, who have heard my general confession.

28. Also, when I see any one who knows anything about me, I wish to let him know my whole life, because my honor seems to me to consist in the honor of our Lord, and I care for nothing else. This He knows well, or I am very blind; for neither honor, nor life, nor praise, nor good either of body or of soul can interest me, nor do I seek or desire any advantage, only His glory. I cannot believe that Satan has sought so many means of making my soul advance, in order to lose it after all. I do not hold him to be so foolish. Nor can I believe it of God, though I have deserved to fall into delusions because of my sins, that He has left unheeded so many prayers of so many good people for two years, and I do nothing else but ask everybody to pray to our Lord that He would show me if this be for His glory, or lead me by another way. I do not believe that these things would have been permitted by His Majesty to be always going on if they were not His work. These considerations, and the reasons of so many saintly men, give me courage when I am under the pressure of fear that they are not from God, I being so wicked myself. But when I am in prayer, and during those days when I am in repose, and my thoughts fixed on God, if all the learned and holy men in the world came together and put me to all conceivable tortures, and I, too, desirous of

agreeing with them, they could not make me believe that this is the work of Satan, for I cannot. And when they would have had me believe it, I was afraid, seeing who it was that said so; and I thought that they must be saying what was true, and that I, being what I was, must have been deluded. But all they had said to me was destroyed by the first word, or recollection, or vision that came, and I was able to resist no longer, and believed it was from God.

29. However, I can think that Satan now and then may intermeddle here, and so it is, as I have seen and said; but he produces different results, nor can he, as it seems to me, deceive any one possessed of any experience. Nevertheless, I say that, though I do certainly believe this to be from God, I would never do anything, for any consideration whatever, that is not judged by him who has the charge of my soul to be for the better service of our Lord, and I never had any intention but to obey without concealing anything, for that is my duty. I am very often rebuked for my faults, and that in such a way as to pierce me to the very quick; and I am warned when there is, or when there may be, any danger in what I am doing. These rebukes and warnings have done me much good, in often reminding me of my former sins, which made me exceedingly sorry.

30. I have been very long, but this is the truth,—that, when I rise from my prayer, I see that I have received blessings which seem too briefly described. Afterwards I fall into many imperfections, and am unprofitable and very wicked. And perhaps I have no perception of what is good, but am deluded; still, the difference in my life is notorious, and compels me to think over all I have said—I mean, that which I verily believe I have felt. These are the perfections which I feel our Lord has wrought in me who am so wicked and so imperfect. I refer it all to your judgment, my father, for you know the whole state of my soul.

RELATION II

TO ONE OF HER CONFESSORS, FROM THE HOUSE OF DOÑA LUISA DE LA CERDA, IN 1562 [1]

JESUS

I THINK it is more than a year since this was written; God has all this time protected me with His hand, so that I have not become worse; on the contrary, I see a great change for the better in all I have to say: may He be praised for it all!

1. The visions and revelations have not ceased, but they are of a much higher kind. Our Lord has taught me a way of prayer, wherein I find myself far more advanced, more detached from the things of this life, more courageous, and more free. I fall into a trance more frequently, for these ecstasies at times come upon me with great violence, and in such a way as to be outwardly visible, I having no power to resist them; and even when I am with others—for they come in such a way as admits of no disguising them, unless it be by letting people suppose that, as I am subject to disease of the heart, they are fainting-fits; I take great pains, however, to resist them when they are coming on—sometimes I cannot do it.

2. As to poverty, God seems to have wrought great things in me; for I would willingly be without even what is necessary, unless given me as an alms; and therefore my longing is extreme that I may be in such a state as to depend on alms alone for my food. It seems to me that to live, when I am certain of food and raiment without fail, is not so complete an observance of my vow or of the counsel of Christ as it would be to live where no revenue is possessed, and I should be in want at times; and as to the blessings that come with true poverty, they seem to me to be great, and I would not miss them. Many times do I find myself with such great faith, that I do not think God will ever fail those who serve Him, and without any doubt whatever that there is, or can be, any time in which His words are not fulfilled: I cannot persuade myself to the contrary, nor can I have any fear; and so, when they advise me to

[1] Addressed, it is believed, to her confessor, Fr. Pedro Ibañez.

accept an endowment, I feel it keenly, and betake myself unto God.

3. I think I am much more compassionate towards the poor than I used to be, having a great pity for them and a desire to help them; for if I regarded only my good will, I should give them even the habit I wear. I am not fastidious with respect to them, even if I had to do with them or touched them with my hands,—and this I now see is a gift of God; for though I used to give alms for His love, I had no natural compassion. I am conscious of a distinct improvement herein.

4. As to the evil speaking directed against me,—which is considerable, and highly injurious to me, and done by many,—I find myself herein also very much the better. I think that what they say makes scarcely any more impression upon me than it would upon an idiot. I think at times, and nearly always, that it is just. I feel it so little that I see nothing in it that I might offer to God, as I learn by experience that my soul gains greatly thereby; on the contrary, the evil speaking seems to be a favor. And thus, the moment I go to prayer, I have no ill-feeling against them; the first time I hear it, it creates in me a little resistance, but it neither disturbs nor moves me; on the contrary, when I see others occasionally disturbed, I am sorry for them. So it is, I put myself out of the question; for all the wrongs of this life seem to me so light that it is not possible to feel them, because I imagine myself to be dreaming, and see that all this will be nothing when I awake.

5. God is giving me more earnest desires, a greater love of solitude, a much greater detachment, as I said, with the visions; by these He has made me know what all that is, even if I gave up all the friends I have, both men and women and kindred. This is the least part of it: my kindred are rather a very great weariness to me; I leave them in all freedom and joy, provided it be to render the least service unto God; and thus on every side I find peace.

6. Certain things, about which I have been warned in prayer, have been perfectly verified. Thus, considering the graces received from God, I find myself very much better; but, considering my service to Him in return, I am exceed-

ingly worthless, for I have received greater consolation than I have given, though sometimes that gives me grievous pain. My penance is very scanty, the respect shown me great, much against my own will very often. However, in a word, I see that I live an easy, not a penitential, life; God help me, as He can!

7. It is now nine months, more or less, since I wrote this with my own hand; since then I have not turned my back on the graces which God has given me; I think I have received, so far as I can see, a much greater liberty of late. Hitherto I thought I had need of others, and I had more reliance on worldly helps. Now I clearly understand that all men are bunches of dried rosemary, and that there is no safety in leaning on them, for if they are pressed by contradictions or evil speaking they break down. And so I know by experience that the only way not to fall is to cling to the cross, and put our trust in Him who was nailed thereto. I find Him a real Friend, and with Him I find myself endowed with such might that, God never failing me, I think I should be able to withstand the whole world if it were against me.

8. Having a clear knowledge of this truth, I used to be very fond of being loved by others; now I do not care for that, yea, rather, their love seems to weary me in some measure, excepting theirs who take care of my soul, or theirs to whom I think I do good. Of the former I wish to be loved, in order that they may bear with me; and of the latter, that they may be more inclined to believe me when I tell them that all is vanity.

9. In the very grievous trials, persecutions, and contradictions of these months,[2] God gave me great courage; and the more grievous they were, the greater the courage, without weariness in suffering. Not only had I no ill-feeling against those who spoke evil of me, but I had, I believe, conceived a deeper affection for them. I know not how it was; certainly it was a gift from the hand of our Lord.

10. When I desire anything, I am accustomed naturally to desire it with some vehemence; now my desires are so calm, that I do not even feel that I am pleased when I see

[2] The Saint refers to the troubles she endured during the foundation of the monastery of St. Joseph.

them fulfilled. Sorrow and joy, excepting in that which relates to prayer, are so moderated, that I seem to be without sense, and in that state I remain for some days.

11. The vehement longings to do penance which come, and have come, upon me are great; and if I do any penance, I feel it to be so slight in comparison with that longing, that I regard it sometimes, and almost always, as a special consolation; however, I do but little, because of my great weakness.

12. It is a very great pain to me very often, and at this moment most grievous, that I must take food, particularly if I am in prayer. It must be very great, for it makes me weep much, and speak the language of affliction, almost without being aware of it, and that is what I am not in the habit of doing, for I do not remember that I ever did so in the very heaviest trials of my life: I am not a woman in these things, for I have a hard heart.

13. I feel in myself a very earnest desire, more so than usual, that God may find those who will serve Him, particularly learned men, in all detachment, and who will not cleave to anything of this world, for I see it is all a mockery; for when I see the great needs of the Church, I look upon it as a mockery to be distressed about aught else. I do nothing but pray to God for such men, because I see that one person, who is wholly perfect in the true fervor of the love of God, will do more good than many who are lukewarm.

14. In matters concerning the faith, my courage seems to me much greater. I think I could go forth alone by myself against the Lutherans, and convince them of their errors. I feel very keenly the loss of so many souls. I see many persons making great progress; I see clearly it was the pleasure of God that such progress should have been helped by me; and I perceive that my soul, of His goodness, grows daily more and more in His love.

15. I think I could not be led away by vainglory, even if I seriously tried, and I do not see how I could imagine any one of my virtues to be mine, for it is not long since I was for many years without any at all; and now, so far as I am concerned, I do nothing but receive graces, without rendering any service in return, being the most worthless crea-

ture in the world. And so it is that I eonsider at times how all, exeept myself, make progress; I am good for nothing in myself. This is not humility only, but the simple truth; and the knowledge of my being so worthless makes me sometimes think with fear that I must be under some delusion. Thus I see elearly that all my gain has eome through the revelations and the raptures, in which I am nothing myself, and do no more to effeet them than the eanvas does for the pieture painted on it. This makes me feel seeure and be at rest; and I plaee myself in the hands of God, and trust my desires; for I know for certain that my desires are to die for Him, and to lose all ease, and that whatever may happen.

16. There are days wherein I remember times without number the words of St. Paul,—though eertainly they are not true of me,—that I have neither life, nor speeeh, nor will of my own, but that there is One in me by Whom I am directed and made strong; and I am, as it were, beside myself, and thus life is a very grievous burden to me. And the greatest oblation I make to God, as the highest serviee on my part, is that I, when I feel it so painfully to be absent from Him, am willing to live on for the love of Him. I would have my life also full of great tribulations and persecutions; now that I am unprofitable, I should like to suffer; and I would endure all the tribulations in the world to gain ever so little more merit—I mean, by a more perfect doing of His will.

17. Everything that I have learnt in prayer, though it may be two years previously, I have seen fulfilled. What I see and understand of the grandeurs of God, and of the way He has shown them, is so high, that I scareely ever begin to think of them but my understanding fails me,—for I am as one that sees things far higher than I can understand,—and I become recollected.

18. God so keeps me from offending Him that I am verily amazed at times. I think I discern the great care He takes of me, without my taking scarcely any care at all, being as I was, before these things happened to me, a sea of wickedness and sins, and without a thought that I was mistress enough of myself to leave them undone. And the reason why I would have this known is that the great power of God might

be made manifest. Unto Him be praise forever and ever! Amen.

JESUS

This Relation here set forth, not in my handwriting, is one that I gave to my confessor,[3] and which he with his own hand copied without adding or diminishing a word. He was a most spiritual man and a theologian: I discussed the state of my soul with him, and he with other learned men, among whom was Father Mancio.[4] They found nothing in it that is not in perfect agreement with the holy writings. This makes me calm now, though, while God is leading me by this way, I feel that it is necessary for me to put no trust whatever in myself. And so I have always done, though it is painful enough. You, my father, will be careful that all this goes under the seal of confession, according to my request.

RELATION III

OF VARIOUS GRACES GRANTED TO THE SAINT FROM THE YEAR 1568 TO 1571 INCLUSIVE

1. When I was in the monastery of Toledo, and some people were advising me not to allow any but noble persons to be buried there,[1] our Lord said to me: "Thou wilt be very inconsistent, My daughter, if thou regardest the laws of the world. Look at Me, poor and despised of men: are the great people of the world likely to be great in My eyes; or is it descent or virtue that is to make you esteemed?" [1569 or 1570.]

2. After Communion, the second day of Lent, in St. Joseph of Malagon, our Lord Jesus Christ appeared to me in an imaginary vision, as He is wont to do; and when I was looking upon Him I saw that He had on His head, instead of the crown of thorns, a crown of great splendor, over the part where the wounds of that crown must have been.

[3] Probably Fr. Pedro Ibañez.

[4] A Dominican, who had studied at the Serbonne and filled during sixteen years the chair of divinity at Alcalá, and for eleven years that of Salamanca. He was equally renowned as preacher.

[1] Alonzo Ramirez wished to have the right of burial in the new monastery, but the nobles of Toledo looked on his request as unreasonable.

And as I have a great devotion to the crowning with thorns, I was exceedingly consoled, and began to think how great the pain must have been because of the many wounds, and to be sorrowful. Our Lord told me not to be sad because of those wounds, but for the many wounds which men inflict upon Him now. I asked Him what I could do by way of reparation; for I was resolved to do anything. He replied: "This is not the time for rest"; that I must hasten on the foundations, for He would take His rest with the souls which entered the monasteries; that I must admit all who offered themselves, because there were many souls that did not serve Him because they had no place wherein to do it; that those monasteries which were to be founded in small towns should be like this; that the merit of those in them would be as great, if they only desired to do that which was done in the other houses; that I must contrive to put them all under the jurisdiction of one superior, and take care that anxieties about means of bodily maintenance did not destroy interior peace, for He would help us, so that we should never be in want of food. Especial care was to be had of the sick sisters; the prioress who did not provide for and comfort the sick was like the friends of Job: He sent them sickness for the good of their souls, and careless superiors risked the patience of their nuns. I was to write the history of the foundation of the monasteries. I was thinking how there was nothing to write about in reference to the foundation of Medina, when He asked me, what more did I want to see than that the foundation there was miraculous? By this He meant to say that He alone had done it, when it seemed impossible. I resolved to execute His commands. [1570.]

3. Our Lord told me something I was to tell another, and as I was considering how I did not understand it at all,—though I prayed to Him, and was thinking it might be from Satan,—He said to me that it was not, and that He Himself would warn me when the time came.[2] [1570 or 1571.]

[2] St. Teresa had a great reluctance to deliver such messages. One day she said to our Lord, "Why doest Thou give me this trouble? Canst Thou not speak directly to that person? Why charge me with such a mission?" Our Lord answered: "Since thou canst not do great things for Me, I wish thee at least to help others to serve Me. Moreover, the person in question has not the necessary dispositions that I should speak

4. Once, when I was thinking how much more purely they live who withdrew themselves from all business, and how ill it goes with me, and how many faults I must be guilty of, when I have business to transact, I heard this: "It cannot be otherwise, My daughter; but strive thou always after a good intention in all things, and detachment; lift up thine eyes to Me, and see that all thine actions may resemble Mine." [1570 or 1571.]

5. Thinking how it was that I scarcely ever fell into a trance of late in public, I heard this: "It is not necessary now; thou art sufficiently esteemed for My purpose; we are considering the weakness of the wicked." [1570 or 1571.]

6. One Tuesday after the Ascension, having prayed for a while after Communion in great distress, because I was so distracted that I could fix my mind on nothing, I complained of our poor nature to our Lord. The fire began to kindle in my soul, and I saw, as it seemed to me, the most Holy Trinity distinctly present in an intellectual vision, whereby my soul understood, through a certain representation, as a figure of the truth, so far as my dullness could understand, how God is Three and One; and thus it seemed to me that all the Three Persons spoke to me, that They were distinctly present in my soul, saying unto me "that from that day forth I should see that my soul had grown better in three ways, and that each one of the Three Persons had bestowed on me a distinct grace,—in charity, in suffering joyfully, in a sense of that charity in my soul, accompanied with fervor." I learnt the meaning of those words of our Lord, that the Three Divine Persons will dwell in the soul that is in a state of grace. Afterwards giving thanks to our Lord for so great a mercy, and finding myself utterly unworthy of it, I asked His Majesty with great earnestness how it was that He, after showing such mercies to me, let me go out of His hand, and allowed me to become so wicked; for on the previous day I

to him Myself, and if I did it he, little given to prayer, would not believe Me." On another occasion she said to the Divine Master: "Lord, are there not others—for instance, theologians—who would carry out this mission better than I, a wretched sinner, if Thou didst but speak to them?" He answered: "Theologians will do nothing to enter into personal communication with me. Repulsed by them, I must choose women to open to them My heart and speak of My affairs" (*Ribera*, iv. 5).

had been in great distress on account of my sins, which I had set before me. I saw clearly then how much our Lord on His part had done, ever since my infancy, to draw me to Himself by means most effectual, and yet that all had failed. Then I had a clear perception of the surpassing love of God for us, in that He forgives us all this when we turn to Him, and for me more than for any other, for many reasons. The vision of the Three Divine Persons—one God—made so profound an impression on my soul, that if it had continued it would have been impossible for me not to be recollected in so divine a company. What I saw and heard besides is beyond my power to describe.

7. Once, when I was about to communicate,—it was shortly before I had this vision,—the Host being still in the ciborium, for It had not yet been given me, I saw something like a dove, which moved its wings with a sound. It disturbed me so much, and so carried me away out of myself, that it was with the utmost difficulty I received the Host. All this took place in St. Joseph of Avila. It was Father Francis de Salcedo who was giving me the most Holy Sacrament. Hearing Mass another day, I saw our Lord glorious in the Host; He said to me that his sacrifice was acceptable unto Him.

8. I heard this once: "The time will come when many miracles will be wrought in this church; it will be called the holy church." It was in St. Joseph of Avila, in the year 1571.

9. I retain to this day, which is the Commemoration of St. Paul, the presence of the Three Persons of which I spoke in the beginning; they are present almost continually in my soul. I, being accustomed to the presence of Jesus Christ only, always thought that the vision of the Three Persons was in some degree a hindrance, though I know the Three Persons are but one God. To-day, while thinking of this, our Lord said to me "that I was wrong in imagining that those things which are peculiar to the soul can be represented by those of the body; I was to understand that they were very different, and that the soul had a capacity for great fruition." It seemed to me as if this were shown to me thus: as water penetrates and is drunk in by the sponge, so, it seemed to

me, did the Divinity fill my soul, which in a certain sense had the fruition and possession of the Three Persons. And I heard Him say also: "Labor thou not to hold Me within thyself inclosed, but inclose thou thyself within Me." It seemed to me that I saw the Three Persons within my soul, and communicating Themselves to all creatures abundantly without ceasing to be with me. [June 30, 1571, Medina del Campo.]

10. A few days after this, thinking whether they were right who disapproved of my going out to make new foundations, and whether it would not be better for me if I occupied myself always with prayer, I heard this: "During this life, the true gain consists not in striving after greater joy in Me, but in doing My will." It seemed to me, considering what St. Paul says about women, how they should stay at home,—people reminded me lately of this, and, indeed, I had heard it before,—it might be the will of God I should do so too. He said to me: "Tell them they are not to follow one part of the Scripture by itself, without looking to the other parts also; perhaps, if they could, they would like to tie My hands." [Beginning of July 1571, same place.]

11. One day after the octave of the Visitation, in one of the hermitages of Mount Carmel, praying to God for one of my brothers, I said to our Lord,—I do not know whether it was only in thought or not, for my brother was in a place where his salvation was in peril,—"If I saw one of Thy brethren, O Lord, in this danger, what would I not do to help him!" It seemed to me there was nothing that I could do which I would not have done. Our Lord said to me: "O daughter, daughter! the nuns of the Incarnation are thy sisters, and thou holdest back. Take courage, then. Behold, this is what I would have thee do: it is not so difficult as it seems; and though it seems to thee that by going thither thy foundations will be ruined, yet it is by thy going that both these and the monastery of the Incarnation will gain; resist not, for My power is great."[3] [July 10, 1571, same place.]

12. Once, when thinking of the great penance practiced

[3] This took place in 1571, when the Saint had been appointed prioress of the monastery of the Incarnation at Avila; the very house she had left in order to found that of St. Joseph, to keep the rule in its integrity.

by Doña Catalina de Cardona, and how I might have done more, considering the desires which our Lord had given me at times, if it had not been for my obedience to my confessors, I asked myself whether it would not be as well if I disobeyed them for the future in this matter. Our Lord said to me: "No, my daughter; thou art on the sound and safe road. Seest thou all her penance? I think more of thy obedience." [1572.]

13. Once, when I was in prayer, He showed me by a certain kind of intellectual vision the condition of a soul in a state of grace: in its company I saw by intellectual vision the most Holy Trinity, from whose companionship the soul derived a power which was a dominion over the whole earth. I understood the meaning of those words in the Canticle: "Let my Beloved come into His garden and eat." He showed me also the condition of a soul in sin, utterly powerless, like a person tied and bound and blindfold, who, though anxious to see, yet cannot, being unable to walk or to hear, and in grievous obscurity. I was so exceedingly sorry for such souls, that, to deliver only one, any trouble seemed to me light. I thought it impossible for any one who saw this as I saw it,—and I can hardly explain it,—willingly to forfeit so great a good or continue in so evil a state. [1571.]

14. One day, in very great distress about the state of the Order, and casting about for means to succor it, our Lord said to me: "Do thou what is in thy power, and leave Me to Myself, and be not disquieted by anything; rejoice in the blessing thou hast received, for it is a very great one. My Father is pleased with thee, and the Holy Ghost loves thee." [1570 or 1571.]

15. "Thou art ever desiring trials, and, on the other hand, declining them. I order things according to what I know thy will is, and not according to thy sensuality and weakness. Be strong, for thou seest how I help thee; I have wished thee to gain this crown. Thou shalt see the Order of the Virgin greatly advanced in thy days." I heard this from our Lord about the middle of February, 1571. [Salamanca.]

16. On the eve of St. Sebastian, the first year of my being in the monastery of the Incarnation as prioress there, at the beginning of the *Salve,* I saw the Mother of God descend

with a multitude of angels to the stall of the prioress, where the image of our Lady is, and sit there herself. I think I did not see the image then, but only our Lady. She seemed to be like that picture of her which the Countess[4] gave me; but I had no time to ascertain this, because I fell at once into a trance. Multitudes of angels seemed to me to be above the canopies of the stalls, and on the desks in front of them; but I saw no bodily forms, for the vision was intellectual. She remained there during the *Salve*, and said to me: "Thou hast done well to place me here; I will be present when the sisters sing the praises of my Son, and will offer them to Him." After this I remained in that prayer which I still practice, and which is that of keeping my soul in the company of the most Holy Trinity; and it seemed to me that the Person of the Father drew me to Himself, and spoke to me most comfortable words. Among them were these, while showing how He loved me: "I give thee My Son, and the Holy Ghost, and the Virgin: what canst thou give me?"[5]

17. On the octave of the Holy Ghost, our Lord was gracious unto me, and gave me hopes of this house,[6] that it would go on improving—I mean the souls that are in it. [May 1572.]

18. On the feast of the Magdalen, our Lord again confirmed a grace I had received in Toledo, electing me, in the absence of a certain person, in her place.[7]

19. In the monastery of the Incarnation, and in the second year of my being prioress there, on the octave of St. Martin, when I was going to Communion, the Father, Fr. John of the Cross,[8]—divided the Host between me and another sister. I thought it was done, not because there

[4] Maria de Velasco y Aragon, Countess of Osorno; this painting is still at the convent of St. Joseph, Avila.

[5] See *Relation* iv. 2.

[6] The monastery of the Incarnation, Avila.

[7] Yepez says that one day, on the feast of St. Magdalen, she was filled with envy at the great love that Saint had borne our Lord. But He said to her: "Magdalen loved Me while I was on earth, but thou lovest Me now that I am in heaven"; and for several years He renewed this grace on the feast of St. Magdalen.

[8] St. John of the Cross, at the instance of the Saint, was sent to Avila, with another father of the reformed Carmelites, to be confessor of the nuns of the Incarnation, although they did not (nor do they now) belong to the Reform.

was any want of Hosts, but that he wished to mortify me because I had told him how much I delighted in Hosts of a large size. Yet I was not ignorant that the size of the Host is of no moment; for I knew that our Lord is whole and entire in the smallest particle. His Majesty said to me: "Have no fear, My daughter; for no one will be able to separate thee from Me,"—giving me to understand that the size of the Host mattered not.

20. Then appearing to me, as on other occasions, in an imaginary vision, most interiorly, He held out His right hand and said: "Behold this nail! it is the pledge of thy being My bride from this day forth. Until now thou hadst not merited it; from henceforth thou shalt regard My honor, not only as of one who is Thy Creator, King, and God, but as thine, My veritable bride; My honor is thine, and thine is Mine." This grace had such an effect on me, that I could not contain myself: I became as one that is foolish, and said to our Lord: "Either ennoble my vileness or cease to bestow such mercies on me, for certainly I do not think that nature can bear them." I remained thus the whole day, as one utterly beside herself. Afterwards I became conscious of great progress, and greater shame and distress to see that I did nothing in return for graces so great.

21. Our Lord said this to me one day: "Thinkest thou, My daughter, that meriting lies in fruition? No; merit lies only in doing, in suffering, and in loving. Thou hast never heard that St. Paul had the fruition of heavenly joys more than once; while he was often in sufferings.[9] Thou seest how My whole life was full of dolors, and only on Mount Tabor hast thou heard of Me in glory.[10] Do not suppose, when thou seest My Mother hold Me in her arms, that she had that joy unmixed with heavy sorrows. From the time that Simeon spoke to her, My Father made her see in clear light all I had to suffer. The grand saints of the desert, as they were led by God, so also did they undergo heavy penances; besides, they waged serious war with the devil and with themselves, and much of their time passed away without any spiritual consolation whatever. Believe Me, My daughter, his trials

[9] 2 Cor. xi. 27: "In labore et ærumna, in vigiliis multis."
[10] St. Matt. xvii. 2: "Et transfiguratus est ante eos."

are the heaviest whom My Father loves most; trials are the measure of His love. How can I show My love for thee better than by desiring for thee what I desired for Myself? Consider My wounds; thy pains will never reach to them. This is the way of truth; thus shalt thou help Me to weep over the ruin of those who are in the world, for thou knowest how all their desires, anxieties, and thoughts tend the other way." When I began my prayer that day, my headache was so violent that I thought I could not possibly go on. Our Lord said to me: "Behold now, the reward of suffering. As thou, on account of thy health, wert unable to speak to Me, I spoke to thee and comforted thee." Certainly, so it was; for the time of my recollection lasted about an hour and a half, more or less. It was then that He spoke to me the words I have just related, together with all the others. I was not able to distract myself, neither knew I where I was; my joy was so great as to be indescribable; my headache was gone, and I was amazed, and I had a longing for suffering. He also told me to keep in mind the words He said to His Apostles: "The servant is not greater than his Lord." [November 1572.]

RELATION IV

OF THE GRACE THE SAINT RECEIVED IN SALAMANCA AT THE END OF LENT, 1571

1. I FOUND myself the whole of yesterday in great desolation, and, except at Communion, did not feel that it was the day of the Resurrection.[1] Last night, being with the community, I heard one [2] of them singing how hard it is to be living away from God. As I was then suffering, the effect of that singing on me was such that a numbness began in my hands, and no efforts of mine could hinder it; but as I go out of myself in raptures of joy, so then my soul was thrown into a trance

[1] St. Teresa says in this Relation it was the first day of Easter, but in the *Interior Castle*, M. vi. ch. xi. 6, where she relates the same fact, she speaks of the last of the Easter days, *i.e.* Tuesday, April 17.

[2] Isabel of Jesus, born in Segovia, and whose family name was Jimena, told Ribera (*vide* lib. iv. cap. v.) that she was the singer, being then a novice in Salamanca. She made her profession in 1573, accompanied the Saint to Segovia, became prioress of Palencia and later of Salamanca, where she died in 1614.

through the excessive pain, and remained entranced; and until this day I had not felt this. A few days previously I thought that the vehement impulses were not so great as they used to be, and now it seems to be that the reason is what I have described; I know not if it is so. Hitherto the pain had not gone so far as to make me beside myself; and as it is so unendurable, and as I retained the control of my senses, it made me utter loud cries beyond my power to restrain. Now that it has grown, it has reached this point of piercing me; and I understand more of that piercing which our Lady suffered; for until to-day, as I have just said, I never knew what that piercing was. My body was so bruised, that I suffer even now when I am writing this; for my hands are as if the joints were loosed, and in pain. You, my father, will tell me when you see me whether this trance be the effect of suffering, or whether I felt it, or whether I am deceived.

2. I was in this great pain till this morning; and, being in prayer, I fell into a profound trance; and it seemed to me that our Lord had taken me up in spirit to His Father, and said to Him: "Whom Thou hast given to Me, I give to Thee;" and He seemed to draw me near to Himself. This is not an imaginary vision, but one most certain, and so spiritually subtile that it cannot be explained. He spoke certain words to me which I do not remember. Some of them referred to His grace, which He bestows on me. He kept me by Him for some time.

3. As you, my father,[3] went away yesterday so soon, and I consider the many affairs which detain you, so that it is impossible for me to have recourse to you for comfort even when necessary,—for I see that your occupations are most urgent,—I was for some time in pain and sadness. As I was then in desolation,—as I said before,—that helped me; and as nothing on earth, I thought, had any attractions for me, I had a scruple, and feared I was beginning to lose that liberty. This took place last night; and to-day our Lord answered my doubt, and said to me "that I was not to be surprised; for as men seek for companions with whom they may speak of their sensual satisfactions, so the soul—when

[3] Fr. Martin Gutierrez, Rector of the Jesuit College of Salamanca.

there is any one who understands it—seeks those to whom it may communicate its pleasures and its pains, and is sad and mourns when it can find none." He said to me: "Thou art prosperous now, and thy works please Me." As He remained with me for some time, I remembered that I had told you, my father, that these visions pass quickly away; He said to me "that there was a difference between these and the imaginary visions, and that there could not be an invariable law concerning the graces He bestowed on us; for it was expedient to give them now in one way, now in another."

4. After Communion, I saw our Lord most distinctly close beside me; and He began to comfort me with great sweetness, and said to me, among other things: "Thou beholdest Me present, My daughter,—it is I. Show me thy hands." And to me He seemed to take them and to put them to His side, and said: "Behold My wounds; thou art not without Me. Finish the short course of thy life." By some things He said to me, I understood that, after His Ascension, He never came down to the earth except in the most Holy Sacrament to communicate Himself to any one. He said to me, that when He rose again He showed Himself to our Lady, because she was in great trouble; for sorrow had so pierced her soul that she did not even recover herself at once in order to have the fruition of that joy. By this I saw how different was my piercing. But what must that of the Virgin have been? He remained long with her then because it was necessary to console her.

5. On Palm Sunday,[4] at Communion, I was in a deep trance,—so much so, that I was not able even to swallow the Host; and, still having It in my mouth, when I had come a little to myself, I verily believed that my mouth was all filled with Blood; and my face and my whole body seemed to be covered with It, as if our Lord had been shedding It at that moment. I thought It was warm, and the sweetness I then felt was exceedingly great; and our Lord said to me: "Daughter, My will is that My Blood should profit thee; and be thou not afraid that My compassion will fail thee. I shed It in much suffering, and, as thou seest, thou hast the fruition of It in great joy. I reward thee well for the

[4] April 8, 1571. The Saint was then at Salamanca.

pleasure thou gavest me to-day." He said this because I have been in the habit of going to Communion, if possible, on this day for more than thirty years, and of laboring to prepare my soul to be the host of our Lord; for I considered the cruelty of the Jews to be very great, after giving Him so grand a reception, in letting Him go so far for supper; and I used to picture Him as remaining with me, and truly in a poor lodging, as I see now. And thus I used to have such foolish thoughts—they must have been acceptable to our Lord, for this was one of the visions which I regard as most certain; and, accordingly, it has been a great blessing to me in the matter of Communion.

6. Previous to this I had been, I believe, for three days in that great pain, which I feel sometimes more than at others, because I am away from God; and during those days it had been very great, and seemingly more than I could bear. Being thus exceedingly wearied by it, I saw it was late to take my collation, nor could I do so,—for if I do not take it a little earlier it occasions great weakness because of my sickness; and then, doing violence to myself, I took up some bread to prepare for collation, and on the instant Christ appeared, and seemed to be breaking the bread and putting it into my mouth. He said to me: "Eat, My daughter, and bear it as well as thou canst. I condole with thee in thy suffering; but it is good for thee now." My pain was gone, and I was comforted; for He seemed to be really with me then, and the whole of the next day; and with this my desires were then satisfied. The word "condole" made me strong; for now I do not think I am suffering at all. . . .

RELATION V

WRITTEN FROM PALENCIA IN MAY 1581, AND ADDRESSED TO DON ALONZO VELASQUEZ, BISHOP OF OSMA, WHO HAD BEEN, WHEN CANON OF TOLEDO, ONE OF THE SAINT'S CONFESSORS [1]

JESUS

1. Oh, that I could clearly explain to your Lordship the peace and quiet my soul has found! for it has so great a

[1] This is probably the latest account of the state of her soul, for she died on Oct. 4, 1582.

certainty of the fruition of God, that it seems to be as if already in possession, though the joy is withheld. I am as one to whom another has granted by deed a large revenue, into the enjoyment and use of which he is to come at a certain time, but until then has nothing but the right already given him to the revenue. In gratitude for this, my soul would abstain from the joy of it, because it has not deserved it; it wishes only to serve Him, even if in great suffering, and at times it thinks it would be very little if, till the end of the world, it had to serve Him who has given it this right; for, in truth, it is in some measure no longer subject, as before, to the miseries of this world; though it suffers more, it seems as if only the habit were struck, for my soul is, as it were, in a fortress with authority, and accordingly does not lose its peace. Still, this confidence does not remove from it its great fear of offending God, nor make it less careful to put away every hindrance to His service, yea, rather, it is more careful than before. But it is so forgetful of its own interests as to seem, in some measure, to have lost itself, so forgetful of self is it in this. Everything is directed to the honor of God, to the doing of His will more and more, and the advancement of His glory.

2. Though this be so, yet, in all that relates to health and the care of the body, it seems to me that I am more careful than I was, that I mortify myself less in my food, and do fewer penances: it is not so with the desires I had; they seem to be greater. All this is done that I may be the better able to serve God in other things, for I offer to Him very often, as a great sacrifice, the care I take of my body, and that wearies me much, and I try it sometimes in acts of mortification; but, after all, this cannot be done without losing health, and I must not neglect what my superiors command. Herein, and in the wish for health, much self-love also must insinuate itself; but, as it seems to me, I feel that it would give me more pleasure, and it gave me more pleasure when I was strong, to do penance, for, at least, I seemed to be doing something, and was giving a good example, and I was free from the vexation which arises out of the fact that I am not serving God at all. Your Lordship will see what it will be best to do in the matter.

3. The imaginary visions have ceased, but the intellectual vision of the Three Persons and of the Sacred Humanity seems ever present, and that, I believe, is a vision of a much higher kind; and I understand now, so I think, that the visions I had came from God, because they prepared my soul for its present state; they were given only because I was so wretched and so weak: God led me by the way which He saw was necessary; but they are, in my opinion, of great worth when they come from God.

4. The interior locutions have not left me, for, whenever it is necessary, our Lord gives me certain directions; and now, in Palencia, were it not for these, there would have been committed a great blunder, though not a sin.

5. The acts and desires do not seem to be so vigorous as they used to be, for, though they are great, I have one much greater to see the will of God accomplished and His glory increased; for as the soul is well aware that His Majesty knoweth what is expedient herein, and is so far removed from all self-seeking, these acts and desires quickly end, and as it seems to me, have no strength. Hence the fear I have at times, though without disquietude and pain as formerly, that my soul is dulled, and that I am doing nothing, because I can do no penance; acts of desire for suffering, for martyrdom, and of the vision of God, have no strength in them, and, most frequently, I cannot make them. I seem to live only for eating and drinking, and avoiding pain in everything; and yet this gives me none, except that sometimes, as I said before, I am afraid that this is a delusion; but I cannot believe it, because, so far as I can see, I am not under the sway of any strong attachment to any created thing, not even to all the bliss of heaven, but only to the love of God; and this does not grow less,—on the contrary, I believe it is growing together with the longing that all men may serve Him.

6. But, for all this, one thing amazes me: I have not the feelings I had formerly, so strong and so interior, which tormented me when I saw souls go to their ruin, and when I used to think I had offended God. I cannot have these feelings now, though I believe my desire that God be not sinned against is not less than it was.

7. Your Lordship must consider that in all this, in my present as well as in my previous state, I can do no more, and that it is not in my power to serve Him better: I might do so, if I were not so wicked. I may say, also, that if I were now to make great efforts to wish to die, I could not, nor can I make the acts I used to make, nor feel the pains I felt for having offended God, nor the great fears I had for so many years when I thought I was under a delusion: and accordingly I have no need of learned men, or of speaking to anybody at all, only to satisfy myself that I am going the right road now, and whether I can do anything. I have consulted certain persons on this point, with whom I had taken counsel on the others, with Father Dominic, the Master Medina, and certain members of the Society. I will be satisfied with the answer which you, my Lord, may give me, because of the great trust I have in your Lordship. Consider it carefully, for the love of God! Neither do I cease to learn that certain souls of people connected with me when they died are in heaven: of others I learn nothing. Oh, in what solitude I find myself when I consider that the comparison of which I spoke to you, concerning the return from Egypt, does not apply to the child at my mother's breast.

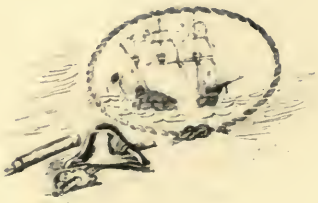
8. I am at peace within; and my likings and dislikings have so little power to take from me the Presence of the Three Persons, of which, while it continues, it is so impossible to doubt, that I seem clearly to know by experience what is recorded by St. John, that God will make His dwelling in the soul: and not only by grace, but because He will have the soul feel that presence, and it brings with it so many blessings, particularly this, that there is no need to run after reflections to learn that God is there. This is almost always the state I am in, except when my great infirmities oppress me. Sometimes God will have me suffer without any inward comfort; but my will never swerves—not even in its first movements—from the will of God. This resignation to His will is so efficacious, that I desire neither life nor death, except for some moments, when I long to see God; and then the Presence of the Three Persons becomes so distinct as to relieve the pain of the absence, and I wish to live—if such be His good pleasure—to serve Him still longer. And if I

might help, by my prayers, to make but one soul love Him more, and praise Him, and that only for a short time, I think that of more importance than to dwell in glory.

The unworthy servant and daughter of your Lordship,

TERESA OF JESUS.

END OF THE "RELATIONS"



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

1540-1596

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

With Drake we reach the first of those great men who, though they have composed complete accounts of their lives, have yet left behind them some fragmentary writing or letter revealing so much of their real selves and of their genius that the fragment is of world-wide value. Who would not wish to know all he could of the famous Drake's outlook upon life! What the hero thought of himself and of the other heroes he played his part may well be guessed. [illegible] the only personal letter of Drake's that [illegible]

When the time of Drake's birth is considered, no one of his race will have probably ever [illegible] He took a leading part in the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" by which Spain sought to overwhelm England in 1588; but his fame rests more upon the individual exploits, his sweeping round the world, his capturing of Spanish colonies, his daring raids even into the harbour of their capital. The Spaniards feared and hated him as they did no other Englishman, and the very name added to their terror, for Drake is the [illegible] for the Spanish word for "dragon."

The last paragraph of Drake's letter, written [illegible] Plymouth Harbour, the best of the pursuit after the Invincible Armada, with little curious allusions resolves itself into [illegible] verse. [illegible] to take us an example of a great mind while under strong emotion [illegible] itself perhaps.

"We have the army of Spain before us,
And by God's grace shall wrestle a fall with him.
[illegible] has anything pleased me better
Than seeing the enemy flying
[illegible] a southerly wind to the northwards.
[illegible] good you have a good eye on Parma.
[illegible] God's grace, if we live, we'll [illegible]

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

GREATEST OF ENGLAND'S NAVAL HEROES: THE "DRAGON" OF THE SPANIARDS

1540-1596

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

With Drake we reach the first of those great men who, though they never composed complete accounts of their lives, have yet left behind them some fragmentary writing or letter revealing so much of themselves and of their careers that the fragment is of world-wide value from the autobiographical standpoint. Who would not wish to know all he could of the famous Drake's outlook upon life! What the hero thought of himself and of the times wherein he played his part may well be gathered from the letter given herewith, the only personal letter of Drake's that has survived.

Even the date of Drake's birth is uncertain; he was of low rank and only gradually won his way to the front. He took a leading part in the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" by which Spain sought to overwhelm England in 1588; but his fame rests more upon his individual exploits, his voyaging round the world, his ravaging of Spanish colonies, his daring raids even into the harbors of Spain itself. The Spaniards feared and hated him as they did no other Englishman, and his very name added to their terror, for Drake is the old word and the Spanish word for "dragon."

The last paragraph of Drake's letter, written to Lord Walsingham during the heat of the pursuit after the Invincible Armada, with little verbal alteration resolves itself into blank verse. It may be taken as an example of a great mind when under strong emotion expressing itself poetically:

"We have the army of Spain before us,
And by God's grace shall wrestle a pull with him.
Never has anything pleased me better
Than seeing the enemy flying
With a southerly wind to the northwards.
God grant you have a good eye on Parma.
By God's grace, if we live, we'll so handle

This Duke of Sidonia, he'll wish himself back
To St. Mary's, safe 'mid his orange trees."

A childish rhyme of the period, which has thus been translated, testifies how far the dislike and terror of his name had entered into the Spanish mind:

"My brother Don John
To England is gone,
To kill the Drake,
And the Queen to take,
And the heretics all to destroy."

This dislike attended even on his memory, for it is said when the news of his death reached Panama, two days of religious festivities were celebrated in honor of his death and damnation. In Stowe's "Annals" he is described as "low of stature, of strong limbs, broad breasted, round headed, brown hair, full bearded; his eyes round, large, and clear, well favored, fair, and of a cheerful countenance. His name was a terror to the French, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Indians. Many princes of Italy, Germany, and others, as well enemies as friends, in his lifetime desired his picture."

LETTER OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO LORD WALSINGHAM

July 31, 1588.

Most Honorable,—I am comaunded to send these prisoners ashore by my Lord Admerall, which had, ere this, byne long done, but that I thought ther being here myght have done something which is not thought meet now.

Lett me beseche your Honor that they may be presented unto her Majestie, either by your honor, or my honorable good lord, my Lord Chancellor, or both of you. The one, Don Pedro, is a man of great estymacyon with the King of Spayne, and thowght next in this armye to the Duke of Sedonya. If they shoulde be geven from me unto any other, it would be som gref to my friends. Yf her Majestie will have them, God defend but I shoulde thinck it happye.

We have the armey of Spayne before us, and mynd with the grace of God to wressell a poull with him.

Ther was never anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a Sotherly wynd to the Northwards. God grant you have a good eye to the Duke of Parma, for with the grace of God, yf we live, I doubt it not,

but ere it be long so to handell the matter with the Duke of Sedonya, as he shall wish hymselff at Saint Marie Port among his orynge trees. God gyve us grace to depend upon Him, so shall we not doubt victory; for our cawse is good. Humbly taking my leave this last of July 1588, your Honor's faythfully to be commanded ever,

FRA. DRAKE.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

THE MOST ROMANTIC AND MOST UNFORTUNATE OF SCOTTISH SOVEREIGNS

1542-1587

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

THE MOST LOVED, MOST PITIED AND MOST CONDEMNED OF SCOTTISH SOVEREIGNS

1542-1587

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

So much of controversy has raged over the ill-fated, pathetic Mary of Scotland, that even her letters are disputed. There still exists in Scotland an ancient silver-gilt casket left behind by Mary's devoted champion, the Earl of Bothwell, when he fled to France. In this casket the enemies of Queen Mary declared that they had found a series of letters and poems written by Mary to Bothwell, passionate love-letters fully revealing her complicity in Bothwell's murder of her husband. But the Queen's partisans have always declared these papers to be forgeries.

Hence the only letters of Mary which we can assuredly accept as genuine are those which during her imprisonment she addressed officially to Queen Elizabeth, and her letters of appeal to the Pope. Of these, the letters to Elizabeth can scarcely be expected to reveal much of the prisoner's real thoughts. We present here the most noted, and probably the most straightforward of them, written when Mary knew herself condemned to death. And we present also the still more celebrated "last letter to the Pope." In this, indeed, the despairing Queen seems to write with her heart's blood; her crushed spirit is face to face with death, and her inmost soul speaks forth as she takes her leave of the world which had seemed to promise her so much and had given her so little.

When these last letters were penned Mary had been twenty years in prison in England, after being driven from Scotland by her exacting subjects. She had been accused of every conceivable crime. Her son, the future King James I of England, had been taken from her and educated in the Scotch Protestantism which she, as a Roman Catholic, abhorred. She had seen all those who sought to rescue her executed, and now at last she was called to lay her own weary head upon the executioner's block.

LETTERS OF QUEEN MARY WHEN CONDEMNED TO DEATH

[Letter written on November 20, 1587, to Queen Elizabeth.]

WITH all my heart, madam, do I render thanks to God that he, by means of your commands, hath pleased to put an end to my wearisome pilgrimage of life. I do not wish it prolonged, having already had too much time to learn its bitterness. Only, I implore Your Majesty that, as I can expect no favors from the zealous ministers who hold the first places in the English State, I may obtain from you only, and not from others, these following kindnesses:

First. Since I may not hope for a burial in England according to the Catholic solemnities practiced by the ancient kings, your ancestors and mine, and since in Scotland they have violated and defiled the ashes of my fathers, grant that, when my adversaries shall be sullied with my innocent blood, my domestics may bear my body to some consecrated earth, to be there entombed; preferably in France, where repose the bones of the queen my most honored mother; so that this poor body, which never knew repose so long as it was united with my soul, may find it at last when separated.

Second. Because I fear the tyranny of those into whose power you have abandoned me, I beseech Your Majesty that I may not be executed in any hidden place, but in the sight of my domestics and others, who may be witnesses of my faith and of my obedience to the true Church, and who may defend my last hours and my latest sighs from the false reports that my adversaries may circulate.

In the third place, I request that my domestics, who have served me so faithfully through so much annoyance, may retire freely whither they may desire, and enjoy the modest benefices that my poverty has left them in my will.

I conjure you, madam, by the blood of Jesus Christ, by our kindred, by the memory of Henry VII, our common father, and by the title of Queen, which I bear still, even unto death, not to refuse me such reasonable demands, and to assure me of them by a word from your own hand; and thereupon I will die as I have lived.

Your affectionate sister and prisoner,

MARY, QUEEN.

LETTER OF MARY TO POPE SIXTUS V

JESUS MARIA

HOLY FATHER:

Inasmuch as it has pleased God in his divine providence to order in his Church that, under his crucified Son, Jesus Christ, all those who believe in him and are baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity should recognize as mother one Universal Catholic Church, whose commands, with the ten of the law, are to be kept under pain of damnation, it is requisite that all who aspire to eternal life should keep their gaze steadfastly fixed thereon.

Therefore, I, born of royal parents, who were, as I also was, baptized in it; nay, more, I, unworthy as I am, was from the breast called to the throne and anointed and crowned by the authority and ministers of that Church, and nourished and reared under her wing and on her bosom, and by her instructed in the obedience owed by all Christians to him whom she, guided by the Holy Ghost, has elected according to the ancient decrees and order of the primitive Church to the Apostical Holy See, as our head on earth, to whom Jesus Christ, in his last testament, speaking to Saint Peter of the foundation of this Church, to bind and loose poor sinners from the bonds of Satan, absolving us by him, or by his ministers for that appointed, from all crimes and sins that we commit and perpetrate, we being penitent, and as far as in us lies making satisfaction for them, after having confessed according to the ordinance of the Church; I call to witness my Savior, Jesus Christ, the Most Blessed Trinity, the glorious Virgin Mary, all the angels and archangels, Saint Peter the shepherd, my peculiar intercessor and special advocate; Saint Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles; Saint Andrew, and all the saints in heaven, that I have always lived in that faith, which is that of the Universal Church Catholic, universal and Roman, in which being regenerated I have always intended to do my duty to the Holy Apostolic See, of which to my great regret I have not been able to render due testimony to Your Holiness, owing to my detention in this captivity, and my long sickness together.

But now that it has pleased God, Most Holy Father, to permit for my sins and those of this unfortunate island, that I, the sole remnant of the blood of England and Scotland possessing that faith, should, after twenty years' captivity, confined in a strait prison, and at length condemned to death by the States and heretical assembly of this country, as was this day communicated to me by Lord Brockhurst, Amias Paulet, my keeper, one Druw Drouri, knight, and a secretary named Beale, in the name of their queen, commanding me to prepare to receive death, and offering me one of their bishops and a dean for my consolation, a priest whom I had having been by them taken away and kept, I know not where, in their hands, I have considered it my first duty to return to God, and then with my own hand to signify to Your Holiness, in order that though I cannot make it known to you before my death, yet after the intent may be manifest to you; which is, the whole being duly sifted and considered, the subversion of their religion in this island, by me, they say, designed, and in my favor attempted, as well as by their own subjects, obedient to your laws, and their declared enemies, as by foreigners, especially the Catholic princes and my family, who all (as they reproach) maintain my right to the crown of England, naming me as such in their prayers, by the churches and the ministers of the same in this nation, and professing obedience and subjection to me.

I leave it to Your Holiness to consider the consequence of such a sentence, entreating you to have prayers said for my poor soul (and) the souls of all those who are dead or dying, for the same or the like judgment, and even in honor of God to distribute our alms, and incite the kings to do the same, to those who survive this shipwreck. And my intention is, according to the constitution of the Church, to confess, to do such penance as I can, and receive my Viaticum, if I can obtain my chaplain or other lawful minister to administer to me my said sacraments.

In default whereof, with a contrite and penitent heart, I prostrate myself at the feet of Your Holiness, confessing myself to God and to his saints, and to this your paternity, most unworthy sinner and guilty of eternal damnation, if it do not please the good God, who died for penitent sinners,

to have mercy; entreating you to take this my general submission as a testimony of my intention to accomplish the remainder in the form ordered and commanded by the Church, and the salvation of my poor soul, between which and the justice of God I interpose the blood of Jesus Christ, crucified for me and for all sinners, the most execrable of whom I confess myself to be, considering the infinite favors from him received and by me so ill-employed, which render me unworthy of pardon, if his promise made to all who heavy laden with sins and spiritual afflictions come to him, to be by him comforted, and his mercy did not embolden me, following his commandment to come to him carrying my burden, in order to be by him relieved of it, after the example of the prodigal son; nay, more, voluntarily offering at the foot of his cross my blood for the adherence and faithful zeal I feel for his Church, without the restoration of which I never desire to live in this wretched world.

Further still, Holy Father, leaving no worldly property, I entreat Your Holiness to intercede for me with the Most Christian King, that my dowry may be charged with the payment of my debts, and the wages of my poor desolate servants, and for an annual obit for my soul and for the souls of all our brethren and sisters who in this just quarrel have died. Never having had other private intention, as my poor servants present in my affliction will testify, and as I have willingly offered my life in their heretical assembly, to maintain my Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, and bring back the wanderers of this island, that is themselves, protesting that in this case I would voluntarily lay down all title and dignity of queen, and do all honor and service to theirs, if she would cease to persecute the Catholics, which I protest is the sole end at which I have aimed since I have been in this country, I have neither ambition nor desire to reign, nor to dispossess another for my sake, being, from sickness and long affliction, so enfeebled that I have no desire to exert myself in this world except in the service of his Church, and to regain the souls of this island to God. In testimony whereof, at my end I will not fail to prefer the public safety to the individual interest of flesh and blood.

This makes me to entreat you, in my mortal regret for the

perdition of my poor child, after endeavoring by all means to regain him, you being his true father in the faith, as St. John the Evangelist was to the poor youth whom he took from among thieves, to assume in fine all authority over him that I can give to restrain him. And, if it please your Holiness, call upon the Catholic King to assist you as regards temporals, and both join in endeavoring to ally him in marriage. And if God for my sins allow my son to be obstinate, as I know no Christian prince of these times who has labored so much for the faith, or who has so great means of reducing this island to the Catholic faith, as the Catholic king to whom I am much indebted, as it was he alone who aided me with money and advice in my need, under your good pleasure, I leave all (to him) that I have of right or interest in the government of this kingdom, my son remaining obstinately out of the pale of the Church. Should he be regained, I desire that he be by that prince and my relations the Guises aided, supported and advised, enjoining him with my last will to hold them, next to you, as his fathers, and to marry with their advice, or into one of their houses; and if it so please God, I should like him to become the son-in-law of the Catholic king. Behold the secret of my heart, and the sum of my worldly desires, tending, as I understand it, to the good of his Church and to the discharge of my conscience, that I lay at the feet of Your Holiness, which I most humbly kiss.

You will have a true account of the manner of my last hour and capture, and of all the proceedings both against me and by me, in order that, understanding the truth, the calumnies upon me of the enemies of the Church may by you be refuted and the truth known. And to this I dispatch the bearer to you, requesting for the end your benediction, and saying to you the last adieu, praying God long to preserve your person in his grace for the welfare of his Church and of your desolate flock, especially of this island, which I leave much erring and deluded, without God's mercy and your paternal care.

From Fodringay, this xxiii November, 1586.

Excuse my writing, on account of the weakness of my arm. I, to my great regret, hear evil reports about some who are

near Your Holiness, who are said to receive bribes from this State to betray the cause of God, and that cardinals are implicated.

I leave it to Your Holiness to inquire into that, and to watch a certain Lord Saint John, who is strongly suspected of being a spy of the Great Treasurer. There are false brethren, and I answer that those whom I have recommended to you are altogether different.

Of Your Holiness the most humble and devoted daughter,

MARY, Queen of Scotland, dowager of France.

THE END

EX LIBRIS
BODLEY

SIR THOMAS BODLEY

SIR THOMAS BODLEY

ENGLISH STATESMAN AND FOUNDER OF THE OXFORD PUBLIC LIBRARY

1545-1613

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

Sir Thomas Bodley is, strictly speaking, the earliest autobiographist in the English language. His account of himself though brief is clear, complete and thoughtfully composed, a model sketch. He was, as he tells us, of a Protestant family driven from England in the days of persecution under Queen Mary, and restored with honor under Queen Elizabeth. Bodley was, first of all, a scholar; but he was also a statesman and served his country as a foreign ambassador with such success that he was knighted, and so honored that he might have aspired to very high political position, might even have been the rival of Lord Bacon, had he not deliberately preferred the retirement of Oxford University. There he had studied and taught in his younger days, and in his age, he conceived the project for which England will always remember him, the founding of the great Public Library of Oxford, known as the Bodleian Library.

There had been an earlier library at Oxford but it had long since fallen into utter ruin. Sir Thomas revived it, or rather built up a new one. He donated to it all the books which, as a scholar, he had gathered on his travels. He solicited books from other wealthy men. He made the library his child and, having no other heir, he left it his entire fortune for its maintenance. We might almost say that the entire public library system and free book distribution of to-day date from Sir Thomas Bodley and the Bodleian.

THE LIFE OF SIR THOMAS BODLEY

I WAS borne at *Exeter* in *Devonshire* the second of *March*, 1544,[1] descended both by Father and Mother of worshipfull parentage. By my Fathers side, from an antient Family of *Bodley*, or *Bodleigh* of *Dunscombe* by *Crediton;* and by my

[1] Under our modern chronology this would be 1545.

Mother, from *Robert Hone Esquire,* of *Otterey Saint Mary,* nine miles from *Exeter;* my Father in the time of Queen *Mary,* being noted and knowne to be an enemy to Popery, was so cruelly threatned, and so narrowly observed, by those that maliced his Religion, that for the safeguard of himselfe and my Mother, who was wholly affected as my Father, he knew no way so secure, as to fly into *Germany:* where after a while he found meanes to call over my Mother, with all his children and family, whom he setled for a time at *Wesell* in *Cleveland,* (for there, as then, were many English, which had left their Country for their conscience, and with quietnesse enjoyed their meetings and preachings;) and from thence we removed to the Towne of *Frankfort,* where was in like sort another English Congregation. Howbeit we made no long tarriance in either of those two Townes, for that my Father had resolved to fixe his abode in the City of *Geneva,* where, as farre as I remember, the English Church consisted of some hundred persons.

I was at that time of twelve yeares age, but through my Fathers cost and care, sufficiently instructed to become an Auditour of *Chevalerius* in Hebrew, of *Berealdus* in Greeke, of *Calvin* and *Beza* in Divinity, and of some other Professours in that University, (which was newly then erected) besides my domesticall teachers, in the house of *Philibertus Saracenus,* a famous Physitian in that City, with whom I was boarded: where *Robertus Constantinus,* that made the Greeke *Lexicon,* read *Homer* unto he. Thus I remained there two yeares and more, untill such time as our Nation was advertised of the death of Queene *Mary,* & succession of *Elizabeth,* with the change of Religion, which caused my Father to hasten into *England,* where he came with my Mother, and with all their family, within the first of the Queene, and setled their dwelling in the City of *London.*

It was not long after, that *I* was sent away from thence to the University of *Oxford,* recommended to the teaching and tuition of Doctour *Humfrey,* who was shortly after chosen the chiefe Reader in Divinity, and President of *Magdalen* Colledge; there *I* followed my studies till I tooke the degree of Batchelour of Arts, which was in the yeare, 1563. within which yeare I was also chosen Probationer of *Merton* Col-

ledge, and the next yeare ensuing admitted Fellow. Afterwards, to wit in the yeare, 1565. by speciall perswasion of some of my fellowes, and for my private exercise, I undertooke the publique reading of a Greeke lecture, in the same Colledge Hall, without requiring or expecting any stipend for it. Neverthelesse it pleased the Fellowship of their owne accord to allow me soone after foure markes by the yeare, and ever since to continue that Lecture to the Colledge.

In the yeare of our Lord 1566. I proceeded Master of Arts, and read for that yeare in the Schoole-streets Naturall Philosophy; after which time, within lesse then three yeares space, I was wonne by intreaty of my best affected friends, to stand for the Proctourship, to which I and my Colleague, Master *Bearblocke* of *Exeter* Colledge, were quietly elected in the yeare 1569. without any competion or countersuite of any other. After this for a long time, I supplyed the office of the University Oratour, and bestowed my time in the study of sundry faculties, without any inclination to professe any one aboue the rest, insomuch as at last I waxed desirous to travell beyond the Seas, for attaining to the knowledge of some speciall moderne tongues, and for the encrease of my experience in the managing of affaires, being wholly then addicted to employ my selfe, and all my cares, in the publique service of the State. My resolution fully taken I departed out of *England* Anno 1576. and continued very neare foure yeares abroad, and that in sundry parts of *Italy, France,* and *Germany.*

A good while after my returne, to wit, in the yeare 1585. I was employed by the Queene to *Fredericke* Father to the present King of *Denmarke,* to *Iulius* Duke of *Brunswicke,* to *William Lantgrave* of *Hesse,* and other *German* Princes: the effect of my message was, to draw them to joine their forces with hers, for giving assistance to the King of *Navarre* now *Henry* the fourth King of *France.* my next employment was to *Henry* the third, at such time as he was forced by the Duke of *Guise* to fly out of *Paris;* which I performed in such sort, as I had in charge with extraordinary secrecy: not being accompanied with any one servant (for so much I was commanded) nor with any other Letters, then such as were written with the Queenes owne hand, to the King, and some

selected persons about him; the effect of that message it is fit I should conceale. But it tended greatly to the advantage, not onely of the King, but of all the Protestants in *France,* & to the Dukes apparent overthrow, which also followed soon upon it.

It so befell after this, in the year 88. that for the better conduct of her Highnesse affaires in the Provinces united, I was thought a fit person to reside in those parts, and was sent thereupon to the *Hague* in *Holland,* where according to the contract that had formely past, betweene her Highnesse and the States, I was admitted for one of their Councell of Estate, taking place in their Assemblies next to Count *Maurice,* and yeilding my suffrage in all that was proposed.

During all that time what approbation was given of my painefull endeavours by the Queene, Lords in *England,* by the States of the Country there, and by all the English Souldiery, I referre it to be notified by some others relation; sith it was not unknowne to any of any calling, that then were acquainted with the State of that government. For at my first comming thither, the people of that Country stood in dangerous termes of discontentment, partly for some courses that were held in *England,* as they thought, to their singular prejudice, but most of all in respect of the insolent demeanour of some of her Highnesse Ministers, which onely respected their private emolument, little weighing in their dealing what the Queene had contracted with the States of the Country; whereupon was conceived a mighty feare on every side, that both a present dissolution of the Contract would ensue, and a downright breach of amity betweene us and them.

Now what meanes I set a foot for redresse of those perils, and by what degrees the state of things was reduced into order, it would require a long treatise to report it exactly; but this I may averre with modesty and truth, and the Country did alwaies acknowledge it with gratitude, that had I not of my selfe, without any direction from my Superiours, proceeded in my charge with extreame circumspection, as well in all my speeches and proposalls to the States, as in the tenour of my letters that I writ into *England,* some suddaine alarme had beene given, to the utter subversion and ruine of the State of those Provinces: which in processe of time must

needs have wrought in all probability, the self-same effect in the state of this Realme. Of this my diligence and care in the managing of my busines, there was, as I have signified, very speciall notice taken by the Queene and State at home, for which I received from her Majesty many comfortable Letters of her gracious acceptance: as withall from that time forward I did never receive allmost any set instructions how to governe my proceedings in her Majesties occasions, but the carriage in a manner of all her affaires was left to mee and my direction.

Through this my long absence out of *England*, which wanted very little of five whole yeares, my private estate did greatly require my speedy returne, which when I had obtained by intercession of friends, and a tedious suite, I could enjoy but a while, being shortly after enjoyned to repaire to the *Hague* againe. Neverthelesse upon a certaine occasion to deliver unto her some secret overtures, and of performing thereupon an extraordinary service, I came againe home within lesse then a Twelve-moneth: and I was no sooner come, but her Highnesse embracing the fruit of my discoveries, I was presently commanded to returne to the States with charge to pursue those affaires to performance, which I had secretly proposed; and according to the project which I had conceived, and imparted unto her, all things were concluded and brought to that issue that was instantly desired, whereupon I procured my last revocation.

Now here I can not choose but in making report of the principall accidents that have fallen unto me in the course of my life, but record among the rest, that from the very first day I had no man more to friend among the Lords of the Councell, then was the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh:* for when occasion had beene offered of declaring his conceit as touching my service, he would alwaies tell the Queen (which I received from her selfe and some other ear-witnesses) that there was not any man in *England* so meet as my selfe to undergoe the office of the Secretary. And sithence his sonne, the present Lord Treasurer, hath signified unto me in private conference, that when his father first intended to advance him to that place, his purpose was withall to make me his Colleague. But the case stood thus in my behalf: before such time as I re-

turned from the Provinces united, which was in the yeare 1597. and likewise after my returne, the then Earle of *Essex* did use mee so kindly both by letters and messages, and other great tokens of his inward favours to me, that although I had no meaning, but to settle in my mind my chiefest desire and dependance upon the Lord *Burleigh,* as one that I reputed to be both the best able, and therewithall the most willing to worke my advancement with the Queene, yet I know not how, the Earle, who fought by all devises to divert her love and liking both from the Father and the Son (but from the Sonne in speciall) to withdraw my affection from the one and the other, and to winne mee altogether to depend upon himselfe, did so often take occasion to entertaine the Queene with some prodigall speeches of my sufficiency for a Secretary, which were ever accompanied with words of disgrace against the present Lord Treasurer, as neither she her selfe, of whose favour before I was throughly assured, tooke any great pleasure to preferre me the sooner, (for she hated his ambition, and would give little countenance to any of his followers) and both the Lord *Burleigh* and his Sonne waxed jealous of my courses, as if under hand I had beene induced by the cunning and kindnesse of the Earle of *Essex,* to oppose my selfe against their dealings. And though in very truth they had no solid ground at all of the least alteration in my disposition towards either of them both, (for I did greatly respect their persons and places, with a setled resolution to doe them any service, as also in my heart I detested to be held of any faction whatsoever) yet the now Lord Treasurer, upon occasion of some talke, that I have since had with him, of the Earle and his actions, hath freely confessed of his owne accord unto me, that his daily provocations were so bitter and sharpe against him, and his comparisons so odious, when he put us in a ballance, as he thought thereupon he had very great reason to use his best meanes, to put any man out of hope of raising his fortune, whom the Earle with such violence, to his extreame prejudice, had endeavoured to dignifie. And this, as he affirmed, was all the motive he had to set himselfe against me, in whatsoever might redound to the bettering of my estate, or increasing of my credit and countenance with the Queene.

When I had throughly now bethought me, first in the Earle, of the slender hold-fast that he had in the favour of the Queene, of an endlesse opposition of the cheifest of our Statesmen like still to waite upon him, of his perillous, and feeble, and uncertain advice, aswell in his owne, as in all the causes of his friends: and when moreover for my selfe I had fully considered how very untowardly these two Counsellours were affected unto me, (upon whom before in cogitation I had framed all the fabrique of my future prosperity) how ill it did concurre with my naturall disposition, to become, or to be counted either a stickler or partaker in any publique faction, how well I was able, by God's good blessing, to live of my selfe, if I could be content with a competent livelyhood; how short time of further life I was then to expect by the common course of nature: when I had, I say, in this manner represented to my thoughts my particular estate, together with the Earles, I resolved thereupon to possesse my soule in peace all the residue of my daies, to take my full farewell of State imployments, to satisfie my mind with that mediocrity of worldly living that I had of my owne, and so to retire me from the Court, which was the epilogue and end of all my actions and endeavours of any important note, till I came to the age of fifty three.

Now although after this, by her Majestie's direction, I was often called to the Court, by the now Lord Treasurer, then Secretary, as required by him, as also divers times since, by order from the King, to serve as Embassadour in *France;* to goe a Commissioner from his Highnesse, for concluding the truce betweene *Spaine* and the *Provinces,* and to negotiate in other very honourable imployments, yet I would not be removed from my former finall resolution, insomuch as at length, to induce me the sooner to returne to the Court, I had an offer made me by the present Lord Treasurer (for in processe of time he saw, as he himselfe was pleased to tell me more then once, that all my dealing was upright, faithfull, and direct) that in case I my selfe were willing unto it, he would make me his associate in the Secretaries office; And to the intent I might beleive that he intended it *Bonâ fide,* he would get me out of hand to be sworne of the Counsell. And for the better enabling of my state to maintaine such a dig-

nity, whatsoever I would aske, that might be fit for him to deale in, and for me to enjoy, he would presently sollicite the King to give it passage. All which perswasions notwithstanding, albeit I was often assaulted by him, in regard of my yeares, and for that *I* felt my selfe subject to many indispositions, besides some other private reasons which *I* reserve unto my selfe, *I* have continued still at home, my retired course of life, which is now methinks to me as the greatest preferment that the State can afford.

Onely this *I* must truly confesse of my selfe, that though *I* did never repent me yet of those and some other my often refusalls of honourable offers, in respect of enriching my private estate, yet somewhat more of late *I* have blamed my selfe, & my nicety that way, for the love that I beare to my Reverend Mother the University of *Oxford,* and to the advancement of her good, by such kind of means as *I* have since undertaken. For thus I fell to discourse and debate in my mind, that although I might find it fittest for me, to keep out of the throng of Court contentions, & addresse my thoughts & deeds to such ends altogether, as *I* my selfe could best affect; yet withall *I* was to think, that my duty towards God, the expectation of the world, my naturall inclination, & very morality, did require, that I should not wholly so hide those little abilities that I had, but that in some measure, in one kind or other, I should doe the true part of a profitable member in the State: whereupon examining exactly for the rest of my life, what course *I* might take, and having sought (as I thought, all the waies to the wood) to select the most proper, I concluded at the last to set up my Staffe at the Library doore in *Oxford;* being throughly perswaded, that in my solitude and surcease from the Common-wealth affaires, I could not busy my selfe to better purpose, then by reducing that place (which then in every part lay ruined and wast) to the publique use of Students; For the effecting whereof, I found my selfe furnished in a competent proportion, of such foure kindes of aides, as unlesse I had them all, there was no hope of good successe. For without some kinde of knowledge, as well in the learned and moderne tongues, as in sundry other sorts of scholasticall literature, without some purseability to goe through with the charge, without very great

store of honourable friends to further the designe, and without speciall good leisure to follow such a worke, it could but have proved a vaine attempt, and inconsiderate.

But how well *I* have sped in all my endeavours, and how full provision *I* have made for the benefit and ease of all frequenters of the Library, that which *I* have already performed in sight, that besides which *I* have given for the maintenance of it, and that which hereafter *I* purpose to adde, by way of enlargement to that place (for the project is cast, and whether *I* live or dye it shall be, God willing, put in full execution) will testifie so truly and aboundantly for me, as *I* need not be the publisher of the dignity and worth of mine owne Institution. *Written with my owne hand Anno* 1609. *December the* 15.

THO: BODLEY.

[To this is added in another writing the following.]

Thus farre our Noble Author of himselfe. Who like to the first Pen-man of the sacred history, seems to survive his grave, and to describe unto us his owne death. For having finished that great worke which future times shall ever honour, never equall, he yielded to his fate. As being unwilling the glory of that deed should be deflour'd by the succession of an act lesse high then it. On the 29th of January, in the yeare, 1612. his pure Soule attain'd the freedome of its owne divinity: leaving his borrow'd earth, the sad remainder of innocence and frailty, to be deposited in Merton Colledge: Who had the happinesse to call his Education hers, and to be intrusted with so deare a Pledge of immortality.

FINIS

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

THE MOST GALLANT GENTLEMAN OF ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

1552-1618

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

England never knew a hero more gallant, a gentleman more splendid, than Sir Walter Raleigh; and the few personal letters which he left behind have been eagerly treasured by his countrymen. Especially worth recalling are the two tender letters to his wife written in the face of death.

This wife, Bessie Throckmorton, was in a way the cause of Raleigh's downfall. His first meteoric rise to power had been due to Queen Elizabeth's personal liking, and that liking turned to rage when the Queen found him wooing the fair Bessie, one of her maids of honor. The incautious gallant was promptly sent to prison and was only released when his services were sorely needed to dominate the wild sailors who would listen to no leader but Raleigh. He was then allowed to wed his love, but was never wholly restored to favor with the Queen.

When King James I succeeded Elizabeth, he both feared and distrusted Raleigh's power and daring, and used him only, as Elizabeth had done, when no other could achieve what was required of this dauntless leader. Raleigh was soon accused of treason and, after a parody of a trial, was condemned to death in 1603. On the eve of execution he wrote to his beloved wife the first of the two remarkable letters which follow. He was then reprieved at the last moment, but fifteen years later was rearrested. Spain was clamoring for his blood and King James, to please his Spanish friends without horrifying England, ordered Raleigh's execution on the old, unproven charge.

The cause of Spain's rage against Raleigh was that he had rearoused English enthusiasm for naval assaults and plunderings of Spain's "new world" colonies. Raleigh while searching by King James' command for "El Dorado," the storied golden city of South America, permitted his men to attack a Spanish town. The assault failed; his own son was slain in the fight; and Raleigh, sailing back to England in disgrace, knew well the fate that awaited his failure. He was over sixty-five years old and perhaps cared little to survive his fallen heir and

fallen fortunes. In this mood he writes the second death letter to his wife.

DEATH LETTER OF RALEIGH TO HIS WIFE

[Written the night before he expected to be beheaded at Winchester, 1603]

You shall now receive (my dear wife) my last words in these my last lines. My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not by my will present you with sorrows (dear Bess), let them go to the grave, and be buried with me in the dust; and seeing it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyself. First, I send you all the thanks my heart can conceive, or my words can express, for your many travails and cares taken for me; which, though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less: but pay it I never shall in this world. Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bear me living, do not hide yourself many days; but by your travail, seek to help your miserable fortune and the right of your poor child; thy mourning cannot avail me, I am but dust. Thirdly, you shall understand that my land was conveyed (*bona fide*) to my child; the writings were drawn at Midsummer was twelve months; my honest cousin Brett can testify so much, and Dalberie too can remember somewhat therein: and I trust my blood will quench their malice, that have thus cruelly murdered me; and that they will not seek also to kill thee and mine with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial; and I plainly perceive that my death was determined from the first day. Most sorry I am, (as God knows) that, being thus surprised by death, I can leave you no better estate: God is my witness, I meant you all my office of wines, or that I could have purchased by selling it; half my stuff, and all my jewels, but some one for the boy; but God hath prevented all my resolutions, even that great God that worketh all in all; but if you live free from want, care for no more, for the rest is but vanity; love God, and begin betimes to repose your trust in Him; therein shall you find true and lasting riches, and end-

less comfort. For the rest, when you have traveled and wearied your thoughts, over all sorts of worldly cogitation, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to serve and fear God whilst he is yet young, that the fear of God may grow up with him; and then will God be a husband unto you, and a father unto him—a husband and a father which can never be taken from you. Bayly oweth me two hundred pounds, and Adrian Gilbert six hundred pounds. In Jersey, also, I have much money owing me; besides, the arrearages of the wines will pay my debts; and howsoever you do, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men. When I am gone, no doubt you shall be sought for by many, for the world thinks that I was very rich: but take heed of the pretenses of men and their affections, for they last not but in honest and worthy men; and no greater misery can befall you in this life than to become a prey, and afterwards to be despised. I speak not this (God knows) to dissuade you from marriage, for it will be best for you, both in respect of this world and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, death has cut us asunder; and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me.

Remember your poor child for his father's sake, who chose you, and loved you in his happiest time. Get those letters (if it be possible) which I writ to the Lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness, it was for you and yours that I desired life; but is true that I disdain myself for begging it; for know it (dear wife), that your son is the son of a true man, and one who in his own respect despiseth death, and all his misshapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much; God He knoweth how hardly I steal this time while others sleep; and it is also high time that I should separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was denied thee, and either lay it at Sherborn (if the land continue), or in Exeter Church, by my father and mother: I can say no more; time and death call me away.

The everlasting God, infinite, powerful, and inscrutable; that Almighty God which is goodness itself, mercy itself, the true life and light, keep thee and thine, have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors and false accusers, and send us to meet again in His glorious kingdom! My true

wife, farewell! bless my poor boy; pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in His arms.

Written with the dying hand of sometime thy husband, but now (alas!) overthrown.

Yours that was, but now not my own.

WALTER RALEIGH.

RALEIGH'S LAST LETTER TO HIS WIFE

MARCH 22, 1618.

SWEET HEART,—I was loath to write, because I knew not how to comfort you; and God knows I never knew what sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God; and remember that the Queen's Majesty bare the loss of Prince Henry with a magnanimous heart, and the Lady Harrington of her only son. Comfort your heart, dearest Bess, I shall sorrow for us both; I shall sorrow the less because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live. I refer you to Secretary Winhord's letter, who will give you a copy of it if you send for it. Therein you shall know what has passed. I have written but that letter, for my brains are broken, and it is a torment for me to write, and especially of misery. I have desired Mr. Secretary to give my Lord Carew a copy of his letter. . . . You shall hear from me if I live, from the Newfoundland, where I mean to make clean my ships and revictual, for I have tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bless and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your valiant son.

Yours,

WALTER RALEIGH.

MARGUERITE DE VALOIS

1553-1615

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

MARGUERITE DE VALOIS, QUEEN OF NAVARRE

WIFE OF THE GREAT KING HENRY IV OF FRANCE; THE GAYEST OF FRENCH PRINCESSES

1553-1615

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

Marguerite de Valois proudly refers to herself as "the daughter of kings, the sister of kings, and the wife of a king." Rarely has there been a more illustriously connected woman in the courts of Europe. Her father was Henry II of France, her husband was Henry IV, surnamed the Great, king of Navarre and later of France. Her brothers were Francis II, Charles IX and Henry III, the last of the Valois kings, each ruled by the powerful Queen Mother, the famous Catherine de' Medici, who instigated the Huguenot massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Eve. Marguerite's sister was Isabel, Queen of Spain, wife of the implacable Catholic king, Charles IX, who is reputed to have caused her death by poison. Her sister-in-law was the ill-fated Queen Mary of Scotland.

Marguerite's own life was full of interest. Extremely beautiful, clever and fascinating, she soon became the adored of the gay French court, and her lovers were said to be legion. The amorous adventures of Henry of Navarre are famous in history, and his Queen seems to have followed his example. Yet their union has been called singularly happy for a royal one. They ever remained good friends and gay comrades, helping each other in and out of scrapes, making common cause against their enemies. Their union proved childless, and Marguerite herself procured for Henry, then king of France, his divorce. She also advised him as to his second choice, if a royal marriage may be termed a choice. The divorced couple continued on the best of terms, and Henry seems to have made Marguerite his constant confidante and advisor.

Although the conduct of the young queen was considered so scandalous that her brother Henry III banished her from court, Marguerite maintains in her memoirs that she is a cruelly misjudged woman. Some of her contemporaries gallantly uphold her in this. Be that as it may,

her life and memoirs are intensely interesting, romance clings to her and breathes through the pages. All the misfortunes of her kingly brothers, all the intrigues of her ruthless mother, all the gayety of her madcap husband, live again. Great people of history become human and amusing, through the medium of her more than clever pen. For virtuous or not, Marguerite de Valois was exceptionally gifted and brilliantly educated, perhaps the most dashing woman France has ever boasted, and renowned in her own days as the fairest beauty of the age. Great people as well as great events clustered around her.

MEMOIRS OF MARGUERITE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE

BOOK THE FIRST

I SHOULD praise your work[1] more if it did not praise me so much, being unwilling that what I might have bestowed upon it should be attributed to self-love, rather than to sound judgment, and that people should consequently imagine that, like Themistocles, I think that he expresses himself the best who flatters me the most. It is a common failing amongst women to delight in flattery, even if it be undeserved. I blame my sex for this, and should be sorry to entertain any such notion. Nevertheless, I look upon it as a high honor that so worthy a man as yourself should have seen fit to depict me in such glowing colors. In this portrait the charms of the picture greatly surpass those of the original. If I ever possessed any share of those beauties which you ascribe to me, the troubles which have destroyed them outwardly have effaced them likewise from my remembrance, so that, upon contemplating the image evoked by your discourse, I am inclined to do like the venerable Madame de Rendan, who, having remained ever since the death of her husband without looking in her mirror, upon meeting her face accidentally in that of another, inquired who the person was that she beheld. And although the friends who behold me would fain persuade me to the contrary, I look upon their judgment as open to suspicion, and hold that their eyes are blinded by too much affection. I believe that if you were put to the test you would share my views upon this head, and say, as I very often write, quoting Du Bellay's verses:—

[1] "Your work"—that is to say, "L'éloge de la reine Marguerite," by Brantôme, to whom these memoirs are addressed.

" 'Tis seeking Rome in Rome, and never aught
Finding of Rome, in Rome, of what was sought."

But just as one delights in reading about the destruction of Troy, or the greatness of Athens, and of other such mighty cities, when they were flourishing, although the traces remaining of them are so insignificant that one can scarcely tell where they once stood, so do you take pleasure in describing the perfection of a beauty whereof the sole testimony is to be found in your own writings. If you had desired to illustrate the contrast which sometimes exists between nature and destiny, you could not have selected a fitter subject, the two having contended together in this case in order to test the strength of their power. Upon the side of nature, you, who have seen with your own eyes, will not require any information, but upon that of destiny, having been guided merely by rumor (which is apt to be invented by persons who are either badly informed or badly disposed, and who, through ignorance or malice, are unable to portray the truth), I assume that you will be glad to receive these memoirs from the one who knows most about them, and who is most interested in the faithful narration of the subject. I have been led to this undertaking, also, on account of some five or six mistakes which I have noticed in your discourse. These are: when you speak of Pau, and of my journey out of France; when you speak of the late Monsieur le Mareschal de Biron; when you speak of Agen, and also of the Marquis de Canillac's *sortie* from Usson.

I shall trace my memoirs, to which I shall give no more ambitious name, although they rather deserve that of "history," in the interest of naked truth, which will therein be found without any kind of adornment; for not only do I look upon myself as unequal to the task of bestowing it, but I have, at present, no time. This work, therefore, of one afternoon, will reach you all in confusion, in a dull and ungainly shape—a chaos, from which you have already drawn some light.

There still remains the work of five or six more days. It is a narrative worthy, in all truth, of being written by a noble knight, a true Frenchman, born of an illustrious house,

nurtured by the kings my father and my brothers, the kinsman and familiar friend of the most charming and estimable women of our day, whose social intercourse I had the happiness of cementing.

Preceding events, together with those of these later days, oblige me to begin in the time of King Charles,[2] that being the first period at which I can recollect anything remarkable. Starting like the geographers, who say, when in describing the earth they arrive at their last limit of knowledge: "Beyond this there are nothing but sandy deserts, uninhabited regions, and unnavigated seas;" I, too, shall say: "Beyond this point there was nothing save the vague consciousness of a first childhood, when we are guided by nature, rather after the fashion of plants and animals, than like human beings, who are ruled and governed by reason," and I shall leave to those who had charge of me at that age those superfluous researches, which may perhaps result in the discovery, amongst my childish actions, of some as worthy of record as those connected with the childhood of Themistocles and Alexander—one of whom threw himself into the middle of the road, under the feet of the horses of a charioteer who refused to stop at his bidding, whilst the other despised the prize of the race unless he had contended for it with kings.

To this category might belong the reply which I made to the king my father,[3] a few days before the ill-fated blow which deprived France of peace, and our house of happiness. Being then only four or five years of age, he, taking me upon his knee to try and make me talk, asked me to choose which I should like best for a sweetheart—Monsieur le Prince de Joinville, who became afterwards that great and unfortunate Duc de Guise, or the Marquis de Beaupreau, son of the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon (whose mind was so generously endowed by nature, that envious fortune became his deadly enemy, depriving him by death, in his fourteenth year, of all those honors which were due to his greatness and goodness of soul). Both were at play close to my father the king, and I was watching them. I told him that I should like the marquis

[2] Charles IX., second surviving son of Henri II. and Catherine de' Medici, born 1550, died 1574, aged twenty-four years.

[3] Henry II., accidentally killed at a tournament by Gabriel Montgomery, Comte de Lorges, Captain of his Scottish Guard, July 10, 1559.

best. "Why?" said he; "he is not so handsome" (for the Prince de Joinville was light-haired and fair, whilst the Marquis de Beaupreau had a brown complexion and dark hair). I replied that it was because he was a better boy, whereas the other was never satisfied unless he was doing harm to somebody every day, and that he always wanted to be master—a true prophecy of what we have since seen fulfilled.

Then, again, there is the resistance I made, in order to remain faithful to my religion, at the time of the Conference of Poissi (when the whole court was infected with heresy), to the arbitrary persuasions of several lords and ladies of the court, and even to those of my brother of Anjou [4]—since King of France—whose inexperience had prevented him from escaping the influence of that wretched Huguenotery, and who never ceased conjuring me to change my religion, very often throwing my book of hours into the fire, and giving me, in its stead, Huguenot psalms and prayers, which I used to hand over at once to Madame de Curton, my governess, whom God had done me the favor to keep Catholic, and who would often take me to Monsieur le Cardinal de Tournon, who advised and strengthened me in the suffering of all things for the maintenance of my religion, and gave me prayer-books and rosaries in the place of those which had been burnt by my brother of Anjou. But when others of his intimate friends, who were bent upon my destruction, discovered that these were once more in my possession, they reviled me angrily, saying that it was youth and stupidity which caused me to act thus; that it was easy to see that I was possessed of no understanding; that all intelligent people, whatever their age or sex, hearing a doctrine of charity preached, had freed themselves from the trammels of bigotry, but that I should become as foolish as my governess; and my brother of Anjou, adding threats thereunto, declared that the queen my mother [5] would have me whipped. He said this, however, upon

[4] Afterwards Henry III. of France. He had previously accepted the crown of Poland.

[5] Catherine de' Medici, only child of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, by Madeleine de la Tour, daughter of Jean, Count of Boulogne and Auvergne. Her mother died in giving her birth, and her father followed her to the grave five days afterwards. She married Henry II. of

his own responsibility, for the queen my mother was ignorant of the error into which he had fallen, and when she became aware of it, she reproved him and his tutors as well, and, after having had them instructed, induced them to return to the true, holy, and ancient faith of our fathers, from which she had never departed. I used to say in answer to these threats, melting to tears—as seven or eight, the age at which I was then, is a somewhat sensitive period—that he might have me whipped or killed if he liked, but that I would endure anything that could be done to me rather than bring about my own damnation.

In the reign of my brother the magnanimous King Charles, the Huguenots having recommenced hostilities whilst the king and my mother the queen were in Paris, a gentleman in the service of my brother of Anjou—who has since been King of France—arrived with a message from him, informing them that he had reduced the army of the Huguenots to such extremities that he hoped it would be forced to give him battle in a few days, and that he entreated their majesties, before this, to let him have the honor of seeing them, so that in case fortune, jealous of the glory he had acquired whilst still so young, should in that longed-for day, after he had done good service to his king, his religion, and to the state, see fit to combine the celebration of his victory with that of his obsequies, he might quit the world with less regret, having left them both satisfied with the trust they had done him the honor to repose in him, wherein he should esteem himself more fortunate than in the trophies he had gained by his first two victories. I leave you to guess how these words touched the heart of so excellent a mother, who lived entirely for her children, sacrificing herself at all times to preserve them and to secure their interests, and who cherished this one above all the others! . . .

She decided to set off immediately, taking the king with her, and the small party of ladies she was accustomed to travel with—Madame de Rais, Madame de Sauve, and myself. Borne upon the wings of impatience and maternal affection,

France, when he was Duke of Orleans, at Marseilles, 28th October, 1533. Her nuptials were celebrated by Pope Clement VII. in person, who was her guardian and relative.

she accomplished the journey from Paris to Tours in three days and a half—not without much inconvenience and many laughable incidents, concerning poor Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon, who never left her, and who certainly did not possess the figure, the disposition, or the temperament, for such enforced exertions.

When we arrived at Plessis-lez-Tours, we found my brother of Anjou with the principal leaders of his armies, consisting of the flower of the princes and nobles of France, in whose presence he made a speech to the king, rendering him an account of the management of his command ever since he left court, delivered with so much art and eloquence, and recited with so much grace, that all who heard it were filled with admiration—the more so as his exceeding youth enhanced the wisdom of his words, which were more suited to a graybeard, or to some experienced general, than to a lad of sixteen, although the laurels gained in two victories already encircled his brow, whilst Beauty, which makes everything more attractive, manifested herself to such a degree in his person that it was as though she strove with Fame as to which of the two should glorify him the most. What my mother, who loved him solely, experienced, can no more be expressed in words than could the mourning of Iphigenia's father; and in anybody else but in her, from whose soul discretion was never absent, one might easily have perceived the transport which such an exceeding joy occasioned. But she regulated her actions as she chose, proving by her bearing that prudent persons can behave with perfect self-control. Instead of giving way to her joy, and extending her praises beyond what so meritorious an action deserved, she merely noted the chief points in his speech which concerned the events of the war, in order that the assembled princes and lords might deliberate upon them and pass wise resolutions, and provide what was requisite for its continuance.

In order to settle this it was necessary to remain where we were for some days, upon one of which, as my mother the queen was walking in the park with some of the princes, my brother of Anjou begged that I would come with him into another alley apart, where he addressed me thus:—

"My sister, early association, no less than close kinship,

constrains us to love one another, and you must have been well aware that I of all your brothers have ever been most anxious for your well-being, whilst I have noticed that you too were disposed to return me a like affection. Hitherto we have been thus inclined naturally and guilelessly, and without such union having been productive of any advantage to us, except the pleasure that we have derived from conversing together. During our childhood this was all very well, but the time has gone by for behaving like children. You see the great and important trusts to which God has called me, and to which I have been trained by our good mother the queen. You may rest assured that, as you are the one thing on earth that I love and cherish, I shall never possess either honors or worldly goods in which you will not have a share. Your wit and judgment may be of service to me in influencing my mother the queen to retain me in my present prosperity. My chief support consists in being kept in her good graces. I dread lest absence should prove unfavorable to me, and yet, on account of the war and of all my responsibilities, I am obliged to be nearly always away. Meanwhile, my brother the king is continually at her side, flattering her, and humoring her in everything. I fear that, in the end, this will be prejudicial to me, and that my brother the king growing up, and being brave, as he is, may not go on forever amusing himself with hunting, but that, becoming ambitious, he may substitute the chasing of men for that of beasts, and deprive me of the post which he bestowed upon me of king's lieutenant, in order that he may join the forces himself. This would be so great an annoyance and mortification to me, that, rather than endure such a fall, I would submit to a painful death. In considering the means of dispelling this apprehension, it has occurred to me that it will be necessary for me to have some faithful persons devoted to my interests to uphold my influence with my mother the queen. I know of no one so suitable as you, whom I look upon as a second self. You possess all the requisite qualifications: wit, understanding, and fidelity. If you will only add obedience thereunto, and oblige me by being always present in her dressing-room at her rising and at her retiring, in short, continually, she will thereby be constrained to confide in you, combined with what

I shall tell her of your capacity and of the help and consolation she will derive from you, and I shall beg her no longer to treat you as a child, but to make use of you in my absence as of myself. This I feel assured that she will do. Talk to her freely, as you do to me, and, believe me, she will listen graciously. It will be an honor and a happiness to you to be loved by her. You will advance both yourself and me, and I shall be beholden to you, after God, for the maintenance of my good fortune."

This language was altogether new to me, for I had existed, until then, without any purpose in life, thinking only of dancing or of hunting, without even wishing to adorn myself or to appear beautiful, not being of an age for any such ambition, and having been brought up with so much constraint with regard to my mother the queen, that not only did I not dare to speak to her, but I trembled when she even looked at me, for fear that I might have done something to offend her. I was very nearly answering him as Moses replied to God upon beholding the vision of the burning bush: "Who am I? Send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou shalt send." Nevertheless, discovering in myself forces evoked by the purport of his words and which were hitherto unknown to me, although I had been born with plenty of courage—when I recovered from my first astonishment I felt gratified by his words, and it seemed to me that, in an instant, I was transformed, and that I had become something greater than my former self. So much so, that I began to feel confidence in myself, and answered:—

"My brother, if God gives me the wit and the courage to talk to my mother the queen, as I have the wish to serve you according to your desire, doubt not that you shall derive therefrom the help and satisfaction you expect. As to obedience, I will render her such as shall convince you that I prefer your welfare to all the pleasures in the world. You are right to feel confidence in me, for no one on earth loves and respects you as much as I do. Rest assured that when I am in the presence of my mother the queen, it will be as though you were there in your own person, and that I shall act entirely in your interests."

These words proceeded even more from the heart than

from the lips, as the results testified, for soon afterwards my mother the queen summoned me to her closet, and said:—

"Your brother has told me of the conversation you have had together, and of how he no longer regards you as a child. I likewise will do so no longer. It will give me great pleasure to converse with you as I do with your brother. Be obedient to me, and do not fear to talk to me openly, for I wish it to be thus."

These words caused me to experience what I had never experienced before, a satisfaction so immeasurable that it seemed as though any I had ever previously felt paled before it; and looking back to the past with a contemptuous eye, to the amusements of my childhood, dancing, hunting, and the associates of my own age, I despised them all as things utterly vain and unprofitable.

I obeyed this agreeable command, never omitting, for a single day, to be one of the first at her rising, and the last at her retiring. She did me the honor, sometimes, to talk to me for two or three hours, and God vouchsafed that she should be so well satisfied with me that she could never praise me enough to her women. I spoke to her continually of my brother, and he was faithfully informed by me of everything that took place, and of how I lived only to do his will.

I remained in this happy state with respect to my mother the queen for some time, during which the battle of Montcontour took place, with the news of which my brother of Anjou, who always sought to be near my mother the queen, asked her permission to besiege Sainct Jean d'Angely, adding that the presence of the king and herself would be necessary upon this occasion. She was even more anxious than he was for a meeting, and so made up her mind to set off at once, taking with her only her ordinary suite, to which I belonged, and, not foreseeing the misfortune which fate had prepared for me, I departed in a state of high delight. Being young and inexperienced, I felt no misgivings as to the continuance of my good fortune, and, suspecting no change, regarded it as permanently secured. But envious fate, unable to endure the lasting of such a satisfactory state of things, was preparing as much annoyance for me, upon my arrival, as I had been anticipating pleasure, on account of the fidelity with which

I thought I had served my brother. Since his departure, however, he had had Le Guast continually at his side, by whom he was so entirely influenced that he saw only through his eyes and spoke only through his lips. This bad man, born to do mischief, had at once fascinated his mind and filled it with a thousand tyrannical maxims: That one ought only to love and trust oneself; that one should involve no one else in one's own destiny, not even a brother or a sister; together with other such fine Machiavellian precepts, wherewith having become imbued he set about putting them in practice.

As soon as we had arrived, after the first salutations, my mother began praising me and saying how loyally I had stood his friend with her. He answered, coldly, that he was very glad that what he had suggested had turned out so well, but that prudence did not always permit one to make use of the same expedients, and that what was necessary at one time might be dangerous at another. She asked him why he said this. Upon which, seeing that the moment had come for the inventions which he had fabricated on purpose to destroy me, he replied that I was becoming beautiful, and that Monsieur de Guise was turning his thoughts upon me, and that his uncles aspired to making me marry him; that if I came to care for him, it was to be feared that I might discover to him everything she said to me; that she was aware of the ambition of that house,[6] and to what an extent it had always embarrassed ours; and that, for this cause, it would be as well that she should no longer talk to me of affairs, and that she should gradually withdraw herself from all familiarity with me.[7] From that very evening I perceived the change which this pernicious counsel had wrought in her; and seeing that she was afraid of speaking to me before my brother—she having ordered me three or four times, whilst he was with her, to go to bed—I waited until he had quitted her room, and then, seeking her presence, implored her to tell me whether through ignorance I had been unfortunate enough to do anything to displease her. At first she endeavored to dissemble; at last she said:—

[6] The House of Lorraine.

[7] History confirms the suspicions of the Duke of Anjou with respect to Marguerite and Henry of Guise.

"My daughter, your brother is wise; you must not bear him any illwill; what I am about to tell you can only lead to good;" and she then repeated to me the whole of the conversation, and ordered me no longer to address her in my brother's presence. I felt as much pain at these words as I had felt joy at her previous ones, when she had welcomed me to her good graces. I omitted nothing that could convince her of my innocence, assuring her that I had never heard of this report, and that, even supposing Monsieur de Guise had any such intention, I should inform her of it as soon as he mentioned the subject to me. But I made no way, for the impression created by my brother's words had taken such possession of her mind that there was no room in it for either reason or truth. Perceiving this, I told her that I felt the misfortune of losing my happiness far less than I had felt the joy of its acquisition; that my brother took it away from me in the same manner as he had given it to me; for that, as he had caused me to obtain it without merit, praising me when I was unworthy, so likewise did he now deprive me of it without my deserving it, for an imaginary cause which only existed in his own fancy, and I begged her to believe that I should always remember my brother's behavior to me. She grew angry at this, and ordered me to show him no sign of what had passed. From that day forth she gradually diminished her favors, making an idol of her son, and seeking to please him in this as in all else that he desired of her.

At about this time there was a question of my marriage with the King of Portugal, who sent ambassadors to ask my hand. My mother the queen commanded me to adorn myself to receive them, and this I did. As, however, my brother had made her believe that I was averse to this marriage, she spoke to me upon the subject in the evening, asking me what was my will, expecting to find therein an excuse for being angry with me. I assured her that my will had always been subservient to her own, and that whatever was agreeable to her would be agreeable to me likewise. She answered in anger—to which she had been predisposed—that I was not speaking according to the dictates of my heart, and that she knew very well that the Cardinal of Lorraine had persuaded me to give the preference to his nephew. I entreated her to conclude

the arrangements for the marriage with the King of Portugal, saying that she would then be convinced of my obedience. Every day, however, something new was told her upon this subject to embitter her against me and to torment me—inventions from the manufactory of Du Guast, in consequence of which I did not enjoy a single day's peace, for on the one side the King of Spain hindered the conclusion of my marriage, whilst on the other the presence of Monsieur de Guise at court served as a continual pretext for my persecution, notwithstanding that neither he nor any of his kindred ever spoke to me, and that for more than a year he had been paying his addresses to the Princess of Porcian. But, because his marriage with her was delayed, it was pretended that he aspired to one with me. Perceiving this, I made up my mind to write to my sister, Madame de Lorraine, who was all powerful in that family, in order to beg her to arrange that Monsieur de Guise should depart from court, and that he should marry his mistress, the Princess of Porcian, as soon as possible, and that she should point out to him that these slanders had been spread as much for his ruin, and that of all his house, as for mine. She fully realized this, and came soon afterwards to court, where she arranged that the said marriage should take place—thus delivering me from this calumny, and proving to the queen my mother that I had always told her the truth, which closed the mouths of my enemies and gave me peace. Nevertheless, the King of Spain, who will not allow his kinsfolk to contract alliances out of his family, entirely broke off the King of Portugal's marriage, and it was talked of no more.

A few days afterwards there was a talk about my marriage to the Prince of Navarre, who is now our worthy and magnanimous king. The queen my mother discussed it at table one day for a long time with Monsieur de Meru, the members of the house of Montmorency having been the first to suggest it. Upon rising from table, he informed me that she had requested him to speak to me about it. I told him that this was quite unnecessary, as I had no will but her own, although I should certainly entreat her to remember how thoroughly Catholic I was, and that it would distress me very much to marry any one who was not of my own religion. Afterwards

the queen called me to her private apartment, and told me that Messieurs de Montmorency had proposed this marriage to her, and that she desired to learn my wishes upon the subject. I replied that I had neither will nor choice save her own, but that I implored her to remember that I was a firm Catholic.

After a while, as these negotiations still continued, the Queen of Navarre, the prince's mother, came to court, where the marriage was, previously to her death, agreed upon by all parties. At this death such an amusing incident took place that, although it is unworthy of being recorded in history, it may be privately mentioned between you and me. Madame de Nevers, whose disposition you know, went with Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon, Madame de Guise, Madame la Princesse de Condé, her sisters, and myself, to the lodging of the late Queen of Navarre in Paris, in order to pay her the last tribute of respect due to her rank and to the relationship we bore her—not with the pomps and solemnities of our religion, but with the mean ceremonial allowed by the Huguenotery; that is to say, she was in her ordinary bed, the curtains drawn back, without tapers, priests, cross, or holy water. As we were standing with the rest of the company, at about five or six paces from her bed, Madame de Nevers, whom during her lifetime the queen had detested more than any one on earth, and who had paid her back, both by word and deed, in the same coin—for, as you are aware, she knew how to serve out those she hated—separates herself from our midst, and with sundry fine, humble, and low obeisances, advances towards the bed, and after pressing the queen's hand, kisses it, and then, with a profound reverence full of respect, returns to our party; we, who knew of their hatred, appreciating all this.

Some months afterwards, the aforesaid Prince of Navarre, who then styled himself King of Navarre, arrived, wearing mourning for the queen his mother, accompanied by eight hundred gentlemen all dressed in black, who were received by the king and the whole court with much honor, and our nuptials took place in a few days, with more pomp and magnificence than those of any one else of my degree—the King of Navarre and his following having exchanged their mourning

for very rich and beautiful apparel, and all the members of the court being adorned as you know, and as you will know best how to describe; I dressed as a royal personage, with the crown and the tippet spotted with ermine, which is worn on the front of the body, all glittering with the crown jewels, and the large blue mantel with a train four ells long, which was borne by three princesses. Scaffoldings were erected, as is customary at the marriages of daughters of France, all the way from the episcopal palace to Notre Dame, and decorated with cloth of gold, whilst the crowd were crushing one another below in order to obtain a sight of the procession and of the court passing by upon this raised platform.

When we came to the door of the church, Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon, who performed the service upon that day, received us, and said the words which are customary upon such occasions, after which we proceeded, upon the same raised platform, as far as the tribune which separates the nave from the choir, where there were two flights of steps, one which led down to the said choir, and the other through the nave out of the church. The King of Navarre quitted the church by this way.

Such was the position of affairs when fortune, who never permits human beings to enjoy perfect felicity, changed this happy state of rejoicing and merrymaking into one which was the very reverse of it, by reason of the wounding of the Admiral, which so outraged all those of the religion, that they were as though driven to desperation; so much so, that the elder Pardaillan, and several other leaders of the Huguenots, adopted so high a tone respecting it to the queen my mother as to lead her to believe that they intended some mischief. By the advice of Monsieur de Guise and of my brother the King of Poland—who has since been King of France—it was resolved to be beforehand with them; advice which was by no means approved of by King Charles, who favored Monsieur de la Rochefoucault, Teligny, La Nouë, and several other chiefs of the religion, thinking that he might make use of them in Flanders. Indeed, from what I have since heard him say himself, there was great difficulty in obtaining his consent, and if it had not been represented to him that his life and realm were at stake, he would never have

given it. Also, when he heard of the attempt which Maurevel had made upon Monsieur l'Admiral, by means of a pistol-shot fired from a window, which, although he intended to kill him, only wounded him in the shoulder—King Charles, strongly suspecting that Maurevel had been instigated by Monsieur de Guise (in order to avenge the death of his father, the late Monsieur de Guise, whom the admiral had caused to be assassinated, after the same fashion, by Poltrot), was in such a rage with Monsieur de Guise that he swore he would bring him to justice. And if Monsieur de Guise had not kept himself concealed during the whole of that day, the king would have had him arrested. The queen-mother, too, had never experienced so much difficulty as in persuading the said King Charles that this counsel had been given for the good of his realm; because of what I have said above of the friendship he bore Monsieur l'Admiral, La Noüe, and Teligny, whose courage and intelligence he admired, for he was such a generous prince that he was only partial to those in whom he recognized the same qualities as he possessed himself. Then again, in spite of their being extremely dangerous to his state, the cunning foxes had known so well how to dissemble, that they had won the heart of this gallant prince, by leading him to hope that they would prove useful to the growth of his empire, and by suggesting to him grand and glorious undertakings in Flanders, which flattered the one ambition of his noble and royal spirit.

Consequently, however strongly the queen my mother represented to him that the assassination of the late Monsieur de Guise, which the admiral had planned, absolved his son, even supposing that, failing to obtain redress, he had sought to take the law into his own hands, and that, moreover, the admiral's assassination of Charry, master of the camp of the King's Guard, a person of great worth, who had so faithfully assisted her during her regency and King Charles's minority, rendered him worthy of no better treatment—yet the intense sorrow felt by the king at the idea of losing those whom, as I have said, he fancied might one day be of service to him, so obscured his judgment, that he could not forego or control this violent desire to do justice, and although the words of my mother the queen must have shown

him that vengeance for the death of Charry still lurked in her heart, he continued his orders that search should be made for Monsieur de Guise, and that he should be arrested, as he did not wish such deeds to go unpunished. Finally, seeing that Pardaillan had revealed the evil intentions of the Huguenots at the supper of the queen my mother, and as the queen perceived that this accident had brought matters to such a pass that unless their design was forestalled that very night, they would make an attempt against both the king and herself, she resolved openly to inform the king of the whole truth, and of the danger to which he was exposed, by means of Monsieur le Maréchal de Rais, from whom she knew that he would receive it better than from anybody else, as being the person he favored and trusted most.

The marshal went to the king in his private apartment between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, and told him that, as his faithful servant, he could not conceal from him the risk he would incur if he persisted in his determination of punishing Monsieur de Guise, and that it was necessary that he should know that the attempt upon the admiral had not been planned by Monsieur de Guise alone, but that my brother the King of Poland (since King of France) and the queen my mother were involved in it; that he must be aware of the extreme displeasure which the queen my mother had experienced at the assassination of Charry, for which she had, indeed, good cause, seeing that she had at that time but few followers devoted entirely to her interests, and that, during his minority, the whole of France was divided, the Catholics being for Monsieur de Guise, and the Huguenots for the Prince de Condé, and that both the one and the other were striving to deprive him of his crown, which was only preserved to him, after God, by the prudence and vigilance of the queen his mother, who, when in this extremity, had been assisted by no one so faithfully as by the aforesaid Charry, and that ever since, as he knew, she had sworn to avenge his murder. That, furthermore, she perceived that the admiral would never be anything but extremely pernicious to the state, and that, in spite of his professions of bearing his majesty goodwill, and of wishing

to serve him in Flanders, he nourished no other design in reality than to embarrass France. That her own object in the matter had merely been to remove this plague, the admiral only, from the realm, but that, as ill-luck would have it, Maurevel had missed his aim, and the Huguenots were now roused to such a pitch of desperation that, incensed not only against Monsieur de Guise, but against the queen-mother and the King of Poland, they imagined that the king likewise had been a consenting party, and had decided that very night to have recourse to arms; so that he considered that his majesty would be exposed to great danger, both from the Catholics, on account of Monsieur de Guise, and from the Huguenots, for the reasons before mentioned. King Charles, who was excessively prudent, and had always been very obedient to the queen my mother, and who was a thoroughly Catholic prince—realizing, likewise, how events were tending—decided thereupon to unite with the queen my mother and conform to her will, and protect himself from the Huguenots by means of the Catholics, in spite of the extreme regret which he felt at being unable to save Teligny, La Nouë, and Monsieur de la Rochefoucault.

He went at once to seek the queen his mother, sent to summon Monsieur de Guise and all the other Catholic princes and captains, when the resolution was taken to perpetrate that very night the massacre of Saint Bartholomew; and setting to work then and there, with all the chains secured,[8] and the tocsin sounding, each one rushed straightway to the quarter allotted to him, to the admiral as well as to all the other Huguenots. Monsieur de Guise made for the admiral's lodging, where a German gentleman named Besme, having ascended to his chamber, stabbed him to the heart, and then threw him out of the window to his master, Monsieur de Guise.

As for me, nobody told me anything of all this.[9] I saw that every one was in a state of excitement; the Huguenots desperate on account of the admiral's wound, and Messieurs

[8] The chains which closed the approaches to the bridges, and thus prevented the escape of the victims.

[9] She could not, therefore, have been instrumental in saving her husband's life, as Brantôme pretends in his "Eloge de la Reyne Marguerite."

de Guise, fearing that justice might be about to be done for it, whispering together in one another's ears. The Huguenots regarded me with suspicion because I was Catholic, and the Catholics because I had married the King of Navarre, who was Huguenot. So that nobody told me anything until the evening, when, being present at the retiring of the queen my mother, seated upon a chest by the side of my sister of Lorraine, who I saw was very sad, the queen my mother, in turning to speak to some one, perceived me, and told me to go to bed.

As I was making the obeisance, my sister takes me by the arm and stops me, and then, bursting into tears, exclaims, "For God's sake, my sister, do not go away!" which frightened me extremely. The queen my mother perceived it, and calling my sister, scolded her soundly, and forbade her to tell me anything. My sister replied that it was unseemly to send me forth to be sacrificed like that; for that, no doubt, if anything was discovered, they would revenge themselves upon me. The queen my mother replied that God would protect me from harm if it so pleased Him, but that it was necessary that I should go, for fear, if I stayed, that they should suspect something. I perceived that they were arguing, but could make nothing of their words. She again commanded me angrily to go off to bed. My sister, melting to tears, bade me good night without daring to say anything more, and I departed, all scared and bewildered, without being able to imagine what I had to fear.

As soon as I reached my closet, I set to and prayed that it would please God to take me under His protection, and that He would deliver me, without knowing from what nor from whom. Thereupon, the king my husband, who had retired to rest, told me to go to bed. This I did, and found that his bed was surrounded by some thirty or forty Huguenots, who were unknown to me as yet, for I had only been married a very little while. All night long they did nothing but talk about the misadventure which had befallen Monsieur l'Admiral, determining, as soon as it was daylight, to ask the king that Monsieur de Guise should be brought to justice, and that, if this was not granted them, they would take the law into their own hands. My sister's tears were ever present

to me, and I could not sleep because of the apprehensions with which she had inspired me, although I knew not of what. The night passed in this manner, without closing an eye.

At daybreak, the king my husband said that he would go and play at tennis whilst waiting until King Charles should be awake, having resolved to demand satisfaction of him at once. He quitted my room, and all his gentlemen with him. I, seeing that it was daylight, supposed that the danger to which my sister had alluded must be past, and, overcome by fatigue, I told my nurse to secure the door in order that I might sleep in peace. An hour afterwards, as I was fast asleep, there comes a man thumping with his hands and feet at the door, and screaming, "Navarre, Navarre!" My nurse, thinking that it was the king my husband, runs quickly to the door. It turned out to be a gentleman called Monsieur de Tejan, who had a sword-cut on the elbow and a halberd wound in the arm, and who was still pursued by four archers, who all rushed into my room after him. He, seeking to save himself, threw himself on my bed. I, feeling that these men had hold of me, flung myself out of it, and he after me, still clasping me round the body. This man was a total stranger to me, and I did not know whether he came there to insult me, or whether the archers were against him or against me. We were both of us screaming, and one was just as much alarmed as the other.

At last God willed that Monsieur de Nançay, captain of the guard, should come upon the scene, who, perceiving me in this plight, could not refrain from laughing, in spite of the compassion he felt for me. He was very angry with the archers for their indiscretion, packed them off, and granted me the life of this poor man who was clinging to me, and whom I caused to be put to bed, and to have his wounds dressed in my closet, where he remained until he was quite recovered. Whilst I was changing my nightgown—for he had completely covered me with blood—Monsieur de Nançay related to me all that was happening, and assured me that the king my husband was in the king's chamber and had sustained no harm. Then, making me wrap myself in a cloak,

he conducted me to the apartment of my sister Madame de Lorraine, where I arrived more dead than alive, and where, in the antechamber, the doors of which were all open, a gentleman named Bourse was run through by a pike within three paces of me, as he was flying from the archers that pursued him. I fell to one side, half-fainting, into Monsieur de Nançay's arms, thinking that this thrust was about to impale us both. When I had partly recovered, I entered the little room in which my sister slept. Whilst I was there Monsieur de Miossans, first gentleman to the king my husband, and Armagnac, his first *valet-de-chambre*, came in quest of me to beseech me to save their lives. I went and threw myself upon my knees before the king and the queen my mother, to intercede with them for their lives, which, at last, they granted me.

Five or six days afterwards, those who had commenced these proceedings, realizing that they had failed in their principal object, for their animosity had been directed less against the Huguenots than against the princes of the blood, were out of patience at the thought that the king my husband and the Prince of Condé should have been spared; and recognizing that, as the King of Navarre was my husband, no one would lift a hand against him, they started upon another tack. They set to work to persuade the queen my mother that my marriage must be dissolved. With this idea in her mind, when I went to her rising one day, previous to our attending the Easter service, she put me upon my oath to tell her the truth, and then asked me whether the king my husband had consummated the marriage, telling me that if he had not, she saw a means of having it nullified. I begged her to believe that I was not qualified to answer her question (and indeed I was then in the same condition as that Roman lady whose husband reproached her because she had not told him that his breath was unpleasant, and who replied that she fancied all men were alike in this respect, never having approached any other man but him); but I said that, whichever way it was, as she had placed me in this position, I would rather abide in it—strongly suspecting that they only wanted to separate me from my husband in order to do him some evil turn.

We accompanied the King of Poland as far as Beaumont, who, for some months previous to his departure from France, tried by every means to make me forget the evil effects of his ingratitude, and to restore our friendship to what it had been during our childish years, endeavoring to force me to this end by oaths and promises as he was bidding me farewell. His departure from France and the illness of King Charles, which began at almost the same time, roused the energies of the two parties in this realm, who commenced forming various designs upon the state.

The Huguenots, who, upon the death of the admiral, had forced the king my husband and my brother of Alençon to swear, by means of a signed document, to avenge him (having gained over my said brother previous to Saint Bartholomew by leading him to believe that they would establish him in Flanders), now proposed to them that they should steal away, as the king and the queen my mother were returning to France and passing through Champagne, and join certain troops which it was arranged should come and meet them there. Monsieur de Miossans, a Catholic gentleman, having been informed of this project, which was prejudicial to the interests of the king his master,[10] gave me warning of it, to prevent consequences which would have been so disastrous both to themselves and to this realm. I went at once to the king and to the queen my mother, and told them that I had something of the greatest importance to communicate to them, but that I would not divulge it unless it pleased them to promise me that it should bring no harm to those concerned, and unless they would take precautions without appearing to be aware of anything. I then informed them that my brother and the king my husband proposed upon the morrow to join the forces of the Huguenots, who were coming to fetch them in consequence of the obligations by which they had bound themselves at the time of the admiral's death—an act which was excusable in them on ac-

[10] This is the Monsieur de Miossans who has been already described as first gentleman to the King of Navarre. The danger he ran during the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew was probably due to the post he occupied, assuming him to have been a Catholic at that time. Probably, however, he was one of the many Huguenots who reverted to the older faith after the massacre, from motives of prudence.

count of their youth—and I begged their majesties to forgive them, and to prevent them from carrying out their intention without leading them to suspect anything. This the king and queen-mother vouchsafed to me, and the affair was so discreetly managed that, without their being able to discover whence the hindrance proceeded, they could never get an opportunity for effecting their escape.

When this had blown over, we proceeded to Saint Germain, where, on account of the king's illness, we made a prolonged stay, during which time my brother of Alençon employed every possible means to make himself agreeable to me, so that I should swear the same friendship with him as I had done with King Charles, for until then, in consequence of his having been always brought up away from court, we had scarcely seen anything of one another, and were not at all intimate. I was influenced at last by all the submission, obedience, and affection he manifested towards me, and made up my mind to love him and to embrace his interests, though always with the understanding that this should be in no wise prejudicial to my good brother King Charles, whom I honored above all things. He continued this goodwill towards me to the end of his days.

All this time King Charles's illness went on increasing, and the Huguenots never ceased getting up fresh disturbances, endeavoring once more to withdraw my brother the Duc d'Alençon and the king my husband from court. This came to my knowledge as it had done the first time. It pleased God, however, that the queen my mother should likewise become aware of the plot, when it was so near its accomplishment that the Huguenot troops were actually to have arrived that very day close to Saint Germain. We were obliged to start off two hours after midnight in order to reach Paris, King Charles having been placed in a litter, and the queen my mother taking my brother and the king my husband with her in her chariot, who were not treated this time with quite so much tenderness as upon the former occasion, for the king took them with him to the forest of Vincennes, which he did not permit them to leave. Then again, time, whilst increasing the pain of his disorder, brought the king some fresh intelligence every day to in-

crease the mistrust and displeasure which he felt concerning them, in which I believe him to have been greatly encouraged by those who have always sought the destruction of our house. These suspicions reached such a pitch that Messieurs les Maresehaux de Montmoreney and de Cossé were detained prisoners in the forest of Vincennes, whilst La Mole and the Comte de Coconas lost their lives.

At length things came to such a pass that commissioners from the Court of Parliament were deputed to interrogate my brother and the king my husband. This last, having then no counsel at hand, ordered me to set down in writing what it would be advisable for him to reply, to the end that he might get neither himself nor others into trouble by his answers. This God vouchsafed me the grace to do so well that he was perfectly satisfied, whilst the commissioners were astonished at seeing him so well prepared.

As I perceived, by reason of the deaths of La Mole and of the Comte de Coconas, that they [11] were charged with that which might place them in peril of their lives, I resolved—although I stood so well with the king that he cared for nobody so much as he did for me—to risk losing favor in order that I might save their lives, having bethought me that, as I came and went freely in my coach, without the guards ever looking into it or making any of my women take off their masks, I might disguise one of them as a woman and take him out thus. They were, however, too well watched by the guards for both of them to go, and it would have sufficed if one of them had escaped to guarantee the safety of the other, but as they could never agree who this one was to be, each desiring to go, and refusing to be left behind, the plan could never be put into execution. But God remedied all this, though by a means which was most unfortunate for me, for He took King Charles from me—the sole comfort and support of my life, a brother from whom I had received nothing but goodwill, and who, during all the persecutions which I endured at Angers from my brother of Anjou, had always helped, warned, and advised me. In short, I lost in him all that it was possible for me to lose.

After this disaster, unfortunate alike for France and for

[11] The Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre.

myself, we departed for Lyons to meet the King of Poland, who, still possessed by Le Guast, brought about the same results as before by the same means, and following the counsels of this dangerous being, whom he had left in France to further the interests of his party, he conceived a violent jealousy of my brother of Alençon, being filled with suspicion because of his friendship with the king my husband. He looked upon me as the connecting link between them, and deemed that the best means of separating them would be—on the one hand, to set me at variance with the king my husband, and, on the other, to arrange that Madame de Sauve, to whom they were both paying their court, should play one off against the other in such a manner as that they should become frantically jealous of one another.

This abominable plan, the source and origin of so many of the disappointments and annoyances which my brother and I have since endured, was carried out with all the spite, cunning, and malignity with which it had been invented.

There are some people who maintain that God particularly protects great personages, and that He gives secret warning to those who are distinguished by more than usual excellence, through the medium of benevolent spirits, of such accidents, whether fortunate or unfortunate, as are in store for them; and this, in the case of the queen my mother, who may be justly included in this category, has several times come to pass. For instance, on the night before that unhappy tilting-match, she dreamed that she beheld the late king my father wounded in the eye as he was destined to be, and, upon awakening, she besought him several times not to ride that day, but to content himself with looking on at the tournament without taking part in it.

But relentless fate did not vouchsafe so great a blessing to our realm as that he should profit by this wise counsel. Then, again, it has never happened to her to lose any of her children without beholding a bright flame, at sight of which she has at once exclaimed, "God protect my children!" and immediately afterwards she has heard the sad news which was foretold her by the fire. During her illness at Metz, too, when she lay at the point of death through the fumes of charcoal combined with a malignant fever, contracted

whilst visiting some of the many nunneries in that town which were infected with this disorder (whereof she was miraculously cured, God having restored her to this realm, which had still so much need of her, through the vigilance of Monsieur Castelan, her doctor, who, although he was new as an Æsculapius, gave proof, at that time, of the excellence of his art)—when she was in the midst of her delirium, being attended at her bedside by my brother King Charles, my sister and brother of Lorraine, several gentlemen of the council, and by divers ladies and princesses, who, whilst regarding her as past all hope, would not, nevertheless, abandon her—she, continuing her ravings, exclaimed, as though she were looking on at the battle of Jarnac:[12] "Behold, they take to flight! . . . My son has gained the victory! . . . Ah, God! raise up my son; he is on the ground! . . . Look at the Prince of Condé, lying dead in that hedge!" . . . All those who were present fancied that she was raving, and that, knowing that my brother of Anjou was about to engage in battle, she had only this one thought in her mind. On the following evening, however, when Monsieur de Losses brought her the news, as of something which had been much wished for, and by which he thought to obtain credit, she said to him:—

"You are troublesome to have awakened me for this. I knew all about it. Did I not behold it the day before yesterday?"

Then it was that they realized that what they had taken for the delirium of fever was an especial warning, such as God vouchsafes to illustrious and exceptional persons. History supplies us with many examples of this amongst the ancient pagans; the ghost seen by Brutus, for instance, and several others which I will not allude to, as it is not my intention to dress up these memoirs, but merely to set down the truth, and to proceed with them quickly, to the end that you may receive them the sooner.

I do not esteem myself worthy of any of these divine warnings, but nevertheless, in order that I may not seem ungrateful by my silence for the blessings I have received from God—which I ought to, and will proclaim as long as I live,

[12] Fought on March 13, 1569.

so as to render Him thanks for them, and so that all may praise Him for the wonderful working of His mercy, goodness, and power—I will confess that I have never been on the eve of any remarkable occurrence, whether fortunate or unfortunate, that I have not received some warning of it, either by a dream or by other means, and I can aptly apply to myself the words of the following verse:—

"My soul is the prophet of luck or ill-luck,"

the truth of which I recognized upon the arrival of the King of Poland, whom the queen my mother had gone to meet.

Whilst they were embracing and mutually exchanging greetings—although the weather was so hot that in the crowd in which we were, we were almost suffocated—I was seized with such a fit of shivering, and with such trembling all over, that my gentleman-in-waiting perceived it, and I had great difficulty in controlling it when the king, turning from the queen my mother, advanced to salute me. I laid this omen to heart, although some days elapsed before the king revealed the hatred and illwill with which he had been inspired against me by the malicious Guast, who had told him that, since the death of the king, I had favored the party of my brother of Alençon, during his absence, and had induced him to enter into a friendship with the king my husband. In consequence of which he sought an opportunity of striking at this friendship by putting the king my husband and myself upon bad terms, and by causing my husband and my brother to quarrel upon the subject of their jealousy and of their mutual love for Madame de Sauve.

One afternoon, when the queen my mother had retired to her closet to write some long dispatches, Madame de Nevers (your cousin), Madame de Rais (your cousin also), Bourdeille, and Sugeres, asked me whether I should like to go for a drive in the town; whereupon Mademoiselle de Montigny, a niece of Madame d'Usez, told us that the Abbey of St. Peter was a very fine religious house. We decided to visit it, and she begged that she might go with us, as she had an aunt there, and as it was not easy to obtain an entry except when in the company of great personages. She

joined us, and just as we were getting into the chariot, in spite of its being quite full with us six, and with Madame de Curton, the lady of honor who always accompanied me, Liancourt, first equerry to the king, and Camille, made their appearance, and jumped up on the step of the chariot upon Torigny's side, where, holding on as they could, and playing the buffoon, being of a ribald humor, they declared that they too meant to go and see these pretty nuns. The presence of Mademoiselle de Montigny, whom we did not know at all well, and of these two, who were confidential servants of the king, was, I believe, a provision of God to save me from the calumny which it was sought to accuse me of.

We proceeded to the convent, and my chariot, which was easily recognizable from its being gilt, and of yellow velvet trimmed with silver, waited for us in the square, around which several gentlemen were lodging. Whilst we were in St. Peter's, the king, having with him only the king my husband, d'O, and the big Ruffé, on his way to pay a visit to Quelus, who was indisposed, passing by this square and perceiving my empty chariot, turned, and said to the king my husband:—

"Look, there is your wife's chariot, and yonder is Bidé's lodging!" (who was then ill—this was also the name of the person who has since been devoted to your cousin.) "I will wager," said he, "that she is there," and he ordered the big Ruffé, who, as the friend of Du Guast, was a proper instrument for such malignity, to go there and find out. He found nobody there, yet, not wishing to balk the king's design by telling the truth, said to him, in a loud voice, in the hearing of the king my husband:—

"The birds have been there, but they are now flown."

This was quite sufficient to furnish a subject for gossip until they returned home. The king my husband manifested on this occasion the kindness and understanding which he has always displayed, and detesting, as he did, such malignity in his heart, he guessed at once what was the king's object, whilst the king hurried back before me in order to persuade the queen my mother of this fabrication, and to subject me to insult. I did not arrive until after he had had time to do me this evil turn, nor, indeed, until the queen my mother

had spoken in a very extraordinary manner before some ladies—partly from having believed his story and partly in order to gratify this son whom she idolized. I, returning presently, without knowing anything of this, went down into my room with all the suite that had accompanied me to St. Peter's, and there found the king my husband, who, as soon as he saw me, began to laugh, and said:—

"Go to the queen your mother, and I am sure that you will return thence in a fine rage."

I asked him wherefore, and what was the matter? He replied:—

"I shall not tell you, but let it suffice you that I believe nothing whatever of it, and that it is only an invention intended to set us against one another, in order to deprive me by that means of the friendship of Monsieur your brother."

Seeing that I could drag nothing more out of him, I went to the apartments of the queen my mother. When I entered the reception-room I found Monsieur de Guise, who, looking ahead, was not sorry for the division which he perceived was threatening our house, hoping no doubt to gather up some spars from the wreck. "I was waiting for you here," he said, "to warn you that the queen credits you with a dangerous form of benevolence;" and he then repeated to me the foregoing conversation, which he had learnt from d'O, who, being then very intimate with your cousin, had told Monsieur de Guise in order to prepare us. I went into the room of the queen my mother, but she was not there. I found Madame de Nemours there, and all the other princesses and ladies, who exclaimed:—

"Good heavens, madam, the queen your mother is in a terrible rage with you! I do not advise you to present yourself before her!"

"No," I answered; "not if I had done what the king has told her. But as I am altogether innocent of it, I must speak to her so as to enlighten her upon the subject."

I repaired to her closet, which was only screened off by a wooden partition, so that everything that was said in it could easily be overheard. As soon as she perceived me she began to open fire, and to say everything that it was possi-

ble for extreme and ungovernable anger to fling forth. I explained the truth to her, saying that there were ten or eleven of us, and I begged her to make inquiries and not to believe only my friends and intimates, but Madame de Montigny, who did not belong to my set, and Liancourt and Camille, who were entirely in the interests of the king. But she has no ears for either truth or reason; she will hear neither; and whether from being already primed with what was false, or because she wished to gratify this son, whom from mingled feelings of affection, duty, hope, and fear, she positively idolized, she continues scolding, raging, and threatening, and, upon my saying that this good turn had been done me by the king, she puts herself into a still greater fury, endeavoring to make me believe that it was one of her own lacqueys who had seen me there as he was passing that way. Then, perceiving that I saw through this subterfuge and took it for what it was worth, and that I was extremely offended with the king, she was still more wounded and put out; and all this was overheard from her room, which was full of people. Departing thence, with what annoyance may be imagined, I find in my room the king my husband, who says to me:—

"Well, did you not find matters as I told you?"

Then, seeing me so distressed: "Do not torment yourself about this," said he; "Liancourt and Camille will be present at the king's retiring, and they will tell him how he has wronged you, and I am sure that to-morrow the queen your mother will be very anxious to make it up with you."

"Sir," I replied, "I have received by reason of this falsehood too public an affront to be enabled to forgive those who have subjected me to it, but all insults are as nothing to me compared to the wrong they sought to do me by striving to bring about so great a misfortune as to set me at variance with you."

He replied, "In this, thank God, they have failed."

I said to him, "Yes; thanks to God and to your good disposition; but from this evil we must extract a blessing. Let it serve as a warning to each of us to keep a watchful eye upon the devices which the king may contrive in order to put us against one another. For it is evident that, as

this is his intention, he will not stop here, but that he will never rest until he has severed the friendship between my brother and yourself."

Hereupon my brother arrived, and I made them bind themselves by a fresh oath to a continuance of their good-fellowship. But what oath can avail where love is concerned? Next morning, an Italian banker, who was devoted to my brother's interests, invited my said brother, the king my husband, and myself, with several other princesses and ladies, to go and dine in a beautiful garden which he possessed in the town. But having always observed such respect towards the queen my mother whilst I was near her—either as maid or wife—as never to go anywhere without asking her leave, I went to seek her in the reception room on her return from mass, to ask her permission to go to this entertainment. Whilst publicly refusing to give her consent, she told me, at the same time, that I might go where I chose, as she did not care. I leave it to those who, like you, are acquainted with my disposition, to judge whether one of my spirit could brook such an affront as this!

Whilst we were at this festivity, the king, who had spoken to Liancourt, Camille, and Mademoiselle de Montigny, became aware of the error into which he had fallen through the big Ruffé's malice, and being now as anxious to repair it as he had before been eager to accept and proclaim it, he went to the queen my mother and confessed the truth to her, begging her to set the matter right in such a manner as that I should not continue unfriendly to him, fearing, from the understanding which he perceived that I possessed, that I might know better how to revenge myself than he had known how to offend me. As soon as we had returned from the entertainment the prophecy of the king my husband was fulfilled. The queen my mother sent for me to her room, which looked towards the back and which was close to that of the king—where she informed me that she had learnt the rights of everything; that I had spoken the truth; that it was not at all what the lacquey, who had informed her of it, had represented it; that he was a bad man, and that she would send him away. Then, when she perceived by my face that I did not believe this explanation, she took great pains

to disabuse me of the notion that it was the king who had fastened this accusation upon me; and not succeeding in this either, the king came into the room and made me many apologies, and, saying that he had been induced to believe the report, he offered me all the excuses and protestations of friendship that were possible.

When this affair was over, and after we had remained some time at Lyons, we proceeded to Avignon. Le Guast, not daring to invent any more stories, and perceiving that I gave him no opportunity by my actions of setting me at variance, through jealousy, with the king my husband, or of undermining the friendship existing between him and my brother, made use of another instrument, namely, of Madame de Sauve, whom he gained over to such an extent that she obeyed him in everything, and acting upon his instructions, which were no less mischievous than those of La Celestine, she worked up the love of my brother and of my husband the king (which had previously been somewhat careless and lukewarm, like that of very young people) to such a pitch of violence that, forgetful of every other ambition, duty, and object in life, the sole idea in their minds seemed to be the pursuit of this woman. Moreover, they arrived thereby at so great and vehement a jealousy of one another, that although she was sought by Monsieur de Guise, by Du Guast, by Souvray, and several others, who were all better beloved by her than they were, these two brothers-in-law paid no attention to this, but only dreaded each other's courtship. Then this woman, the better to play her game, persuaded the king my husband that I was jealous of him, and that on this account I favored my brother's suit. We easily believe what is told us by those we love. He believes this, avoids me, and is more reserved with me than with any one else, the contrary of what he had been until then, for he had always talked to me about any one he had had a fancy for as openly as to a sister, being well aware that I was not in the least jealous of him, but that I only desired his happiness.

Finding that what I feared most had come to pass; namely, the loss of his goodwill through the withdrawal of the confidence he had hitherto shown me; and realizing that the

mistrust which does away with intimacy is the beginning of hatred either between kinsfolk or friends; furthermore, being aware that if I could only turn my brother from his affection for Madame de Sauve, I should strike at the root of the plot which Du Guast had devised for our disagreement and destruction, I made use of every means that I could in order to free him from it. This might have succeeded with any one whose mind had not been completely enthralled by love, and by the machinations of these cunning persons. My brother, however, who took my word before any one else's with respect to every other thing, could never emancipate himself for his own advantage and for mine—so powerful were the charms of this Circe, aided by Du Guast's diabolical cunning. Instead, therefore, of profiting by my words, he repeated them all to this woman. What can we hide from those we love? She became excited against me by reason of this, and served Du Guast's purpose with all the greater zeal, and induced the king my husband, out of revenge, to dislike and shun me still more, so that he gave up speaking to me altogether. He used to return from visiting her very late, and, in order to prevent him from holding any intercourse with me, she ordered him to appear at the queen's arising, at which she was obliged to be present; after which, for the whole of the day, he never stirred from her side. My brother took no less pains to pursue her; she making each one of them believe that he alone was beloved. This increased their jealousy and bad-fellowship, whilst it hastened their ruin.

We made a long stay at Avignon, and a tour through Burgundy and Champagne, on our way to Rheims to attend the king's nuptials,[13] and thence we proceeded to Paris, where things went on much after the same fashion. Du Guast's plot for our division and discomfiture continued to make progress by these means. When we were in Paris, my brother appointed Bussi to attend him, holding him in the high esteem which his valor merited. He was continually with my brother, and, in consequence, with me, my brother

[13] Henry III. married immediately after his coronation Louise de Vaudemont, daughter of the count of the same name, who represented a younger branch of the House of Lorraine.

and I being almost always together, and he having ordered his attendants to honor and obey me no less than himself. All the members of his suite complied with this agreeable command with so much zeal that they served me as devotedly as they did him. Your aunt, upon beholding this, has often told me that this delightful union between my brother and myself reminded her of the days of my uncle, Monsieur d'Orleans, and of my aunt, Madame de Savoye. Le Guast, however, who was a nobody at that time, putting a different construction upon it, fancied that fortune offered him a fine opportunity for furthering his design, and having, through Madame de Sauve, insinuated himself into the good graces of the king my husband, he endeavored by every means in his power to persuade him that Bussi was my lover. Then, perceiving that he did not advance matters by this, as my husband was thoroughly informed by his servants, who were always with me, of my behavior, which did not tend to anything of the kind, he addressed himself to the king, whom he found far easier to persuade, as much by reason of the scanty goodwill he bore my brother and myself, our friendship being odious and suspicious in his eyes, as because of his hatred for Bussi, who had formerly been in his service, but who had left him in order to devote himself to my brother.

This acquisition increased my brother's dignity as much as it did the jealousy of our enemies, for there was not one of his sex and quality in that century who could compare with him for valor, grace, renown, and understanding; so much so, that there were some who maintained that if one were to believe, like certain philosophers, in the transmigration of souls, there could be no doubt but that the soul of your gallant brother Hardelay animated that of Bussi. The king, having been imbued by Le Guast with this idea, mentioned it to the queen my mother, advising her to tell the king my husband of it, and endeavoring to incite him to the same bitterness wherewith he had inspired him at Lyons. Seeing, however, how little evidence there was to support it, she rejected the notion, saying: "I cannot think who the mischief-makers can be who put such ideas into your head. My daughter is unfortunate to have been born in such times.

In our day we spoke freely to everybody, and all the gallant gentlemen who served the king your father, and your uncles, Monsieur le Dauphin and Monsieur d'Orleans, were constantly in the chamber of your aunt, Madame Marguerite, and no one thought anything of it, nor indeed was there any reason why they should. Bussi sees my daughter before you, before her husband, in her room, before all her husband's servants, and before everybody. She does not see him in secret, or with closed doors. Bussi is a person of quality, and the first gentleman-in-waiting upon your brother. What is there to complain of? At Lyons you made me offer her a very serious insult, which I fear she will remember as long as she lives."

The king was much surprised. "Madam," said he, "I only speak of this after others."

"Who are these others, my son?" she answered; "they are people who wish to set you at variance with all your belongings."[14]

The king having taken his departure, she repeated everything to me, and said, "You are born in an evil day;" and calling your aunt, Madame de Dampierre, she fell to conversing with her about the pleasant liberty of action which they enjoyed in their time, without being, like us, subjected to slander. Le Guast, perceiving that the mine was sprung, and that it had not taken fire in the direction that he desired, addresses himself to certain gentlemen then in the following of the king my husband, who up to that time had been Bussi's comrades, but who had now become his enemies by reason of the jealousy wherewith they had been filled by his advancement and distinction.

These men, uniting to this envious hatred a rash zeal in their master's service—or, to speak more truly, concealing their jealousy beneath this pretense—settled amongst themselves that some night when he withdrew to his lodging late from his master's retiring they would assassinate him. But as some of the worthy fellows who were attached to my brother were wont to accompany him, they knew that he

[14] These words read as though they had been put into the queen-mother's mouth by her daughter. Catherine was dead at the time they were written, and powerless, therefore, either to confirm or refute them.

would have no less than fifteen or twenty people with him, and that (although, on account of the wound he had received in the right arm, he had not worn a sword for the few days since he had fought with Saint Val) his presence alone would suffice to redouble the courage of his escort. This they dreaded, and, wishing to make sure of their affair, they decided to attack him with two or three hundred men, when the veil of night would conceal the ignominy of such an outrage.

Le Guast, who held a command in the regiment of Guards, supplied some soldiers, who, having posted themselves in five or six groups in the street which was nearest to Bussi's lodging, and by which he was obliged to pass, attacked him, and in so doing extinguished all the torches. After a volley of arquebuss and pistol shots which would have sufficed, not merely to have routed a company of fifteen or twenty men, but to scatter a whole regiment, they came to a hand-to-hand encounter with his party, in the course of which, so as not to miss him, they endeavored to recognize him in the darkness by means of a dove-colored scarf which he wore as a sling for his wounded right arm—very fortunately for his assailants, who would otherwise have felt the strength of it. He was well supported, however, by the little band of worthy fellows who accompanied him, and who were not in the least alarmed or disconcerted by either the suddenness of the attack or by the darkness of the night, but who gave good proof of their valor and of the affection they bore their friend by protecting him as far as his lodging, with only the loss of one of their party—a gentleman who had been brought up with Bussi, and who, having been previously wounded in one arm, happened to be wearing a gray scarf like him, although it was in reality very different, not being richly trimmed as his was. Nevertheless, on account of the obscurity of the night, or else of the frenzy of hatred which animated these assassins, who had all been told to make for the gray scarf, it came to pass that the whole set fell upon this poor gentleman, thinking that it was Bussi, and left him for dead in the street.

An Italian gentleman who was in my brother's service happened to be of the party, and being overcome with terror at

the first attack, he rushed, all bleeding, into the Louvre, as far as the room of my brother, who was in bed, calling out that Bussi was being assassinated. My brother wished at once to go to him. Fortunately I had not yet gone to bed, and was lodged so near to my brother that I heard this terrified man shouting out his alarming news upon the stairs as soon as my brother did. I flew at once to his room to prevent him from going out, and sent to beg the queen my mother to come, in order to restrain him—for I perceived that the just distress he experienced so carried him away, that without reflecting he would have rushed into any danger to obtain vengeance. We held him back with the greatest difficulty, the queen my mother representing to him that there was no sense in his going out, alone thus, in the middle of the night, when darkness covers all manner of crimes, and that Le Guast was very likely wicked enough to have arranged this affair on purpose to make him go out at an unwise moment, in order that some disaster might befall him. In the state of exasperation in which he was, these words would have produced very little effect, but asserting her authority at the same time, she kept him back, ordering the porters not to allow him to go forth, and taking the trouble to remain with him until he was apprised of the whole truth.

Bussi, whom God had miraculously preserved from this danger, and who never troubled himself about it—his soul being incapable of fear, and he having been born to be the terror of his enemies, the glory of his master, and the hope of his friends—upon arriving at his lodging, at once bethought him of the anxiety wherein his master would be, supposing that any vague rumor of the encounter had reached him, and fearing that this might cause him to cast himself into the toils of his enemies (as no doubt he would have done had not the queen my mother prevented him), he immediately sent one of his servants to my brother, who brought a truthful account of the whole affair, and as soon as it was daylight he returned to the Louvre with as gallant and gay a demeanor as if this assault upon him had merely been a passage of arms for his amusement. My brother, whose pleasure at seeing him again was as intense as was his de-

sire for vengeance, showed plainly enough how keenly he resented the affront which had been offered him, in seeking thus to deprive him of as valiant and worthy a servant as ever prince of his quality had knowledge of; the more so as Du Guast had only attacked Bussi because he did not dare to make an attempt at first hand upon himself.

The queen my mother, who was the most prudent and cautious of parents, realizing the importance of this state of affairs, and foreseeing that in the end it might set her two children against one another, advised my brother, in order to avoid any such possibility, to arrange that for a while Bussi should depart from court, to which my brother consented by reason of my entreaties, for I plainly perceived that if he remained Le Guast would make use of him as a continual pretext for his malicious design of keeping my brother and the king my husband upon bad terms, as he had already done by the aforesaid artifices.

Bussi, who had no will but that of his master, took his departure, accompanied by the most gallant of the nobles who were in my brother's retinue at court.

BOOK THE SECOND

A FEW days from this time, the king my husband having been informed by some faithful followers of the artifices which had been employed in order to lead him to destruction, by endeavoring to set him at variance with my brother and myself, whose support he had most reason to expect, with the object of abandoning and humiliating him afterwards—and as, also, the king was beginning to slight him and to hold him of no account—was induced to make friends with my brother, who since Bussi's departure had not improved his position, for Le Guast caused him to experience some fresh indignity every day. My husband realized that he and my brother were both in the same predicament at court—the one being just as much out of favor as the other; that Le Guast alone reigned supreme; that they would be obliged to beg of him every favor which they might desire to obtain of the king; that whenever they asked anything themselves they were liable to be refused with contempt, whilst if anybody should seek to serve them, he would be

immediately disgraced, and have a thousand quarrels fastened upon him.

They decided, therefore, perceiving that their disagreement was their destruction, to become reconciled, and to withdraw from court, in order that, having assembled their friends and adherents, they might demand of the king a position and a consideration which should be worthy of their rank; for my brother had never as yet enjoyed his appanage, but had only supported himself by means of certain irregular pensions, which were paid at the will and pleasure of Le Guast; whilst the king my husband had reaped no advantage whatsoever from his governorship of Guyenne, as he was not permitted to visit that or any other of his territories.

This resolution having been arrived at between them, my brother spoke to me upon the subject. He said that, as they had become reconciled, he desired that my husband the king and myself should make friends likewise, and he begged that I would forgive everything that had occurred; that the king my husband had told him that he regretted it extremely; that he recognized that our enemies had been more cunning than we were, but that he had made up his mind to love me, and to give me greater satisfaction in future. He entreated me also, upon my side, to care for him, and to look after his affairs during his absence.

They decided between them that my brother should be the first to depart, making his escape in a coach as best he could, and that, some days afterwards, the king my husband should follow him, upon pretense of going upon a hunting expedition. They regretted extremely that they could not take me with them, but persuaded themselves that no one would dare to offer me any affront once it became known that they were at large. They also said that they should soon prove that they had no intention of disturbing France, but that they only desired to secure a position consistent with their dignity, and to place themselves in safety; for, in the midst of all their other annoyances, they were not without apprehensions for their lives, whether from the fact that they were really in danger, or because those who sought the ruin and disunion of our house contrived,

in order to increase their own influence, to keep them in a perpetual state of alarm by their repeated warnings.

When evening was come, my brother, after changing his cloak and muffling it up to his nose, takes his departure a little while before the king's supper-hour, and pursues his way on foot as far as the Porte Saint Honoré, where he finds Simie with a carriage belonging to a lady, which he had borrowed for the occasion, into which he steps, and drives towards some houses at about a quarter of a league from Paris, where he finds horses awaiting him. Upon one of these he mounts, and a few leagues further on comes upon some two or three hundred of his followers, who were awaiting him at the trysting-place he had appointed. His departure was not discovered till nearly nine o'clock in the evening, when the king and the queen my mother inquired of me why he had not supped with them, and whether he was indisposed? I told them that I had not seen him since dinner-time. They sent to his room to find out what he was about. Their messengers returned and informed them that he was not there. They then ordered that search should be made for him in all the ladies' apartments which he was in the habit of frequenting. He was sought for all over the palace and all over the town, but he was not to be found. Then the alarm increases; the king puts himself into a passion, storms, threatens, summons the princes and nobles of the court, and orders them to take horse and to bring him back, whether dead or alive, declaring that he has gone to disturb his realm and to make war upon him, and that he will teach him the folly he is committing in setting himself in opposition to so powerful a monarch as himself. Several of these princes and noblemen declined to execute this commission, pointing out to the king what a very serious one it was, and saying that they would willingly risk their lives in his service, as was their duty, but that they knew that if they went against Monsieur his brother, a day would come when he would bear them illwill for the same; that he might rest assured my brother was not embarking in anything that could either displease his majesty or do mischief to the state; that probably he had been induced to withdraw from court on account of some grievance, and that it seemed

to them that the king ought to send after him to inform himself of the cause of his departure before having recourse to such desperate measures. Some others amongst them agreed to carry out this order, and left to prepare for their ride. They could not get ready in time, however, to set out before daybreak, the result of which was that they failed to overtake my brother, and were obliged to return, as they were not equipped for warfare.

The king did not regard the king my husband any more favorably after this evasion, but continued to slight him in the usual fashion. This confirmed him in the resolution he had taken in concert with my brother, and accordingly he set forth a few days afterwards, pretending that he was bound for the chase.

Upon the morrow of my brother's departure, in consequence of having wept all night, I was seized with such a severe cold in one side of my face that I was confined to my bed for several days in a high fever, feeling very ill and suffering great pain.

During this illness, the king my husband, either on account of the preparations for his departure, or because, having so soon to leave court, he was desirous of devoting all the time that remained to him there to the society of his mistress, Madame de Sauve, was never able to find leisure to come and see me in my room, and as he only retired to rest, according to his custom, at one or two hours after midnight—occupying, as we always did, two separate beds—I did not hear him come; whilst in the morning he got up before I was awake, in order to repair, as I have already said, to the arising of my lady mother, at which Madame de Sauve was in attendance. Thus it happened that he never remembered to make friends with me as he had promised my brother that he would, but went away without even bidding me farewell.

The king did not fail to suspect that I was the sole cause of his escape, and he inflamed himself against me to such an extent that, had he not been restrained by the queen my mother, I believe that his rage would have led him to perpetrate some cruelty to endanger my life. But, being curbed by her, and not daring to do anything worse, he told

her, at once, that I must at least have guards placed over me, to prevent me from following the king my husband, and also to ensure that nobody should hold any intercourse with me, lest I should inform them of what was going on at court.

The queen my mother, wishing to do everything with moderation, and glad to have been able to ward off the first inspiration of his fury, told him that she approved of this, but said that she would go and seek me in order to prevent me from considering that such treatment was too harsh; that these vexations would not always assume the same proportions; that everything in the world possessed two aspects; that when this first, which looked sinister and alarming, was reversed, the other side might appear more pleasant and reassuring, and that with new events they would have to take new counsel, and might require perhaps to make use of me, for that, as prudence enjoined that we ought to live with our friends as though they might one day become our enemies, and that we should not trust them too implicitly, so also did she ordain that, when the ties of affection were severed, we should behave to our enemies as though they might one day become our friends.

The queen my mother repaired to me in my chamber, where she found me still at my toilet, for I was making an effort on that day to leave my room (although I was still ill with my cold, and even worse in mind than in body, on account of all my vexations), in order to ascertain a little of what was going on in the outer world respecting these new events, feeling extremely anxious as to what was being undertaken against my brother and the king my husband. She addressed me thus: "There is no occasion for you to be in such a hurry to dress yourself. Do not be angry, I beg of you, at what I have to communicate. You are possessed of intelligence, and I am sure you will not be surprised that the king should feel offended with your brother and your husband, or that, knowing of the affection existing between you and them, and believing that you were privy to their escape, he should have resolved to detain you as hostage during their absence. He is aware of how fond your husband is of you, and that he cannot hold a more

valuable pledge from him than yourself. For this reason he has ordered that you shall be placed under arrest, to prevent you from quitting your room, the members of his council having represented to him that if you were at liberty to come and go amongst us, you would discover everything that was planned against your brother and your husband, and would give them warning of the same. I pray you not to take this amiss. Please God, it will not last long. Do not be annoyed, either, if, fearing to arouse the suspicions of the king, I dare not come and visit you as often as usual, but rest assured that I will not allow him to do you any evil, and that I shall do my utmost to bring about a reconciliation between your brothers."

I represented to her how great was the indignity to which this would subject me. I would not deny that my brother had always confided his just grievances to me, but I said that, as to the king my husband, since he had deprived me of Torigny, we had never spoken to one another, and that he had not even visited me during my illness or bidden me farewell.

"These are merely the little differences of husband and wife," she answered; "but one knows very well that with a few tender letters he will soon regain possession of your heart, and that if he asks you to go and join him, you will go, which is what the king my son will not have you do."

After she left me, I remained in this situation for some months, without any one of even my most intimate friends daring to come and visit me, lest they should get into disgrace. At court adversity is always left in solitude, just as prosperity is ever well attended, whilst one's persecution is encouraged by one's own familiar friends. The gallant Grillon was the only person who, braving all prohibitions and loss of favor, came to see me five or six times in my room, astonishing so much thereby the Cerberuses that had been posted at my door, that they did not venture either to address him or to deny him entrance.

Meanwhile, the king my husband, having arrived at the seat of his governorship and rejoined his followers and friends—they all pointed out to him how wrong he had been in departing without bidding me farewell, telling him that

I was possessed of intelligence which rendered me capable of serving him, and that it was important that he should win me back, as he would derive great advantages from my friendship and from my presence, once affairs had become tranquillized, and when he would be able to have me with him.

It was easy to persuade him to this end now that he was away from his Circe, Madame de Sauve. As her charms (which had rendered him blind to the schemes of our enemies, and to the fact that our disagreement was as baneful to him as it was to me) had lost their power through absence, he wrote me a very kind letter, in which he begged me to forget everything that had occurred between us, and to believe that it was his wish to love me, and to prove it to me better than he had hitherto done, and he asked me, at the same time, to keep him informed of the state of affairs where I was—of my own condition, and of that of my brother. For these two were now separated, notwithstanding that they remained friends in spirit—my brother being in the direction of Champagne, and the king my husband in Gascony.

I received this letter, which afforded me great consolation and relief, whilst I was still a prisoner; and although the guards had been ordered not to allow me to write, I did not fail (aided by necessity, the mother of invention) to let him hear from me frequently from that time forth.

Only a few days after I was arrested, my brother knew of my imprisonment, which so embittered him that, had not the love of his country (in which, as in the state, he had a vested interest) been so deeply rooted in his heart, he would have waged so terrible a war (for which he was possessed of the material, having then a very fine army) that the people would have borne the consequences of their prince's resentment. But, being restrained by the force of this natural affection, he merely wrote to the queen my mother to say that if I was treated in this fashion it would drive him to the last extremity of desperation.

She, fearing that the rigors of war might be brought about without her having it in her power to avert them, pointed out to the king how serious such a state of things might become, and found him in the mood to listen to her advice, his anger

having calmed down before the danger of his situation; for he was threatened in Gascony, Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Poitou, both by the king my husband and by the Huguenots, who held several important positions, and by my brother in Champagne, who was at the head of a large army, composed of the bravest and most gallant of the chivalry of France; whilst, since my brother's departure, he had never been able, either by threats, commands, or entreaties, to induce anybody to take horse to go against him—all the French princes and lords very wisely dreading to get their fingers pinched between two stones.

Everything considered, therefore, the king was disposed to lend an ear to the queen my mother's remonstrances, and he became as anxious as she was to make peace, begging her to take the matter in hand and to bring it about. She arranged at once to repair to my brother, and pointed out to the king that it would be advisable that she should take me with her. To this, however, the king would not consent, regarding me as too valuable a hostage. She therefore took her departure alone, and without letting me know anything about it.

When my brother found that she had not brought me with her, he manifested his just displeasure thereat, as also at the insults and ill-treatment he had received at court—added to which there was now the affront which had been offered me by my arrest,—declaring that he would not listen to any overtures of peace until the wrong which had been done me had been redressed, and he knew that I was once more contented and at liberty.

The queen my mother having received this reply, returned, and informed the king of what my brother had said, and added that it would be necessary, if the king desired to make peace, that she should go back again, but that if she went without me her journey would be utterly useless, and would increase the evil instead of diminishing it. Furthermore, that if she took me with her without having previously conciliated me, I should do his cause more harm than good, and that she might even have some difficulty in persuading me to return, and in preventing me from wishing to go and rejoin my husband; that it would be advisable, therefore, to remove

the guards from me, and to endeavor to make me forget the treatment I had received.

The king agreed to this, and became as much in favor of it as she was. She sent for me immediately, and informed me that she had at length succeeded in setting matters upon a more peaceful footing; that she knew that my brother and I had ever desired the welfare of the state, and that a peace could now be arranged upon such advantageous terms for my brother that he would have every reason to be satisfied, and would be out of reach of the tyranny of Du Guast, or any other such malignant creature who might influence the king; and that, in helping her to bring about a friendly understanding between the king and my brother, I should be relieving her of a terrible anxiety, for she was now so placed that she could not hear without extreme distress of the victory of either of her sons. She begged, therefore, that I would not allow the affront I had received to inspire me with sentiments of vengeance rather than with a desire for peace, telling me that the king was much grieved about it, that she had even seen him shed tears on this account, and that he was prepared to make me such reparation as should content me. I replied that I should never prefer my own individual welfare either to that of my brothers or the state, for the quiet and prosperity of which I would willingly sacrifice myself; that I desired nothing so much as a satisfactory peace, and that I would contribute towards it by every means in my power.

The king, as I have said, perceiving in me no signs of resentment, informed me that the queen my mother was going to seek my brother in Champagne, in order to arrange a peace, and that he begged that I would accompany her, and lend her all the assistance in my power, as he knew that my brother placed more reliance in me than in anybody else, and that he should give me the credit of any advantage that might accrue from this, and remain gratefully obliged to me for it.

I promised him that I would do this, it being for my brother's welfare and for that of the state to employ myself in such a manner as should afford him satisfaction. The queen my mother then departed, and I with her, bound for Sens, as the conference was to take place at the house of a

gentleman who lived about a league from that town. Next day we repaired to where the conference was held. My brother attended it, accompanied by a few of his soldiers, and by the principal lords and Catholic princes of his army, amongst whom were Duke Casimir and Colonel Poux, who had contributed six thousand Reiters, through the influence of those of "the religion" who had been induced by the king my husband to unite with my brother.

The conditions of peace were here discussed for several days, a good many disputes arising respecting some of the articles, chiefly those that concerned the Huguenots, to whom more advantageous terms were conceded than had been originally intended, as has been apparent since. Finally, in order to obtain peace, the queen my mother persuaded my brother to send back the Reiters, and to withdraw from those whom he was no less desirous of separating himself from, as he had always been a thoroughly good Catholic, and had only made use of the Huguenots through necessity.

On the occasion of this peace a provision was made for my brother in accordance with his station, in which arrangement he was anxious that I should be included, and that I should demand the assignment of my marriage-portion in lands—Monsieur de Beauvais, who was counsel for his side, laying great stress upon this point. The queen my mother, however, begged me not to consent to this, saying that she could assure me I should obtain of the king whatever I asked, in consequence of which I requested them not to include me in the arrangement, saying that I preferred to owe what I might receive from the king and the queen my mother to their goodwill alone, believing that it would be thus the more permanently assured to me. As soon as peace was concluded, and the conditions set down upon either side, and when the queen my mother was about to return, I received letters from the king my husband by which he made known to me that he desired very much to see me, and begged me, as soon as I saw that peace was established, to ask for leave to go and rejoin him.

I entreated the queen my mother to allow me to do this. She would not hear of it, however, and employed every kind of persuasion to endeavor to turn me from it, telling me that

when, after Saint Bartholomew, I had refused to agree to her proposal for a separation, she had approved of my resolution because the king my husband had become a Catholic, but that as he had now abjured the Catholic faith and turned Huguenot, she could not permit me to go to him. Then, perceiving that I still strove to obtain permission, she declared, with tears in her eyes, that if I did not return with her I should be the ruin of her; that the king would imagine that she had induced me to join my husband; that she had promised him that she would bring me back with her, and that she would arrange that I should only remain at court until my brother arrived—who was coming very soon—after which she would herself immediately obtain permission for me to depart.

We set forth on our return to Paris, where we sought the king's presence. He received us with much satisfaction on account of the peace, although he was not overpleased with the favorable terms that had been granted to the Huguenots, and he began to deliberate as to what excuse could be found—immediately after my brother's return to court—for recommencing the war against them, in order that they might not profit by the advantages which had only been obtained by force and conceded with reluctance, with the sole object of separating my brother from them. This last remained away for a month or two longer, to arrange about the sending back of the Reiters and to disband the rest of his army, after which he arrived at court with all the Catholic nobles who had been acting with him.

The king received him with all honor, and seemed much pleased at seeing him again, and gave a gracious welcome to Bussi likewise, who arrived in my brother's suite, for Le Guast was by this time dead,[1] having been killed by a judgment of God as he was following a cure, his body having been undermined by every sort of abomination, and given over to the corruption which erelong overtook it, when his soul became the prey of the demons to whom he had done homage by magic and by all kinds of wickedness. This instrument of hatred and dissension being removed from the world, and the

[1] Du Guast was assassinated by the Baron de Viteaux, at Marguerite's instigation.

king's mind wholly set upon the destruction of the Huguenots, and the desire to be assisted in this by my brother, so that he and they might become forever irreconcilable, and as the king wished, for these reasons, to prevent me from joining the king my husband, he bestowed all sorts of attentions and caresses upon us both, in order that we might be contented to remain at court.

Just at this time Monsieur de Duras arrived, having been dispatched by the king my husband to demand me. I earnestly importuned the king to allow me to go, there being now no reason for his refusing me. He replied (whilst endeavoring to make it appear that it was his affection for me and the knowledge of what an ornament I was to the court which made him desire to delay my departure as long as possible) that it was his intention to escort me as far as Poitiers, and he sent Monsieur de Duras back with this promise.

The king delayed his departure from Paris for several days, so that everything might be ready for the declaration of war which he had planned against the Huguenots—and, as a consequence, against the king my husband—before he openly refused me permission to go. In order that a pretext might be found for commencing hostilities, a rumor was set afloat to the effect that the Catholics were complaining of the favorable conditions which had been accorded to the Huguenots at the Peace of Sens.

Next day they opened parliament, after having taken counsel with my Lords Bishop of Lyons, Ambrun, and Vienne, and with other prelates who happened to be at court, who persuaded the king that, after the oath he had taken at his consecration, no promise which he might have made to the heretics could be regarded as binding, the aforesaid oath absolving him from all those that he might have made to the Huguenots.

This having been pronounced at the opening of parliament, and war declared forthwith against the Protestants, the king dismissed Genissac the Huguenot, who had arrived a few days previously from the king my husband to accelerate my departure, with harsh and threatening words, telling him that he had given his sister to a Catholic and not to a Hugue-

not, and that if the king my husband desired my presence he had better turn Catholic again.

All sorts of warlike preparations were set on foot, nothing but war was talked of at court, and in order that the breach between my brother and the Huguenots might be rendered the more irreparable, the king gave him the command of one of his armies. Genissac having sought me to tell me of his rude dismissal, I went straight to the closet of the queen my mother, where the king was, to complain of how he had hitherto deceived me, by always preventing me from joining the king my husband, and by making a pretense of leaving Paris to conduct me as far as Poitiers, only to bring about a contrary result. I pointed out to him that I had not married for my own pleasure or at my own desire; that it had been entirely at the desire of King Charles, of the queen my mother, and of himself; that since they had bestowed my husband upon me, they could not prevent me from sharing his fortune; that I wished to go to him, and that if they did not allow me to do so, I should make my escape and rejoin him as best I could, at the risk of my life.

"Now is not the time, my sister," replied the king, "to importune me about this permission. I admit what you say, that I have procrastinated with the object of refusing it to you altogether, for since the King of Navarre has turned Huguenot again, I have never thought it right that you should go to him. What the queen my mother and I are doing is for your good. I mean to make war upon the Huguenots and to exterminate this miserable religion which is doing us so much mischief, and it would be unseemly that you, who are a Catholic and my sister, should be in the enemy's hands in the position of a hostage from me. Who knows whether, in order to offer me an irreparable insult, they may not seek to revenge themselves upon you for the harm that I intend them? No, no, you shall not go! and if you endeavor, as you say, to make your escape, bear in mind that you will have both myself and the queen my mother as your bitter foes, and that we shall make you aware of our enmity by every means in our power, so that you will thus injure your husband's condition instead of ameliorating it."

I withdrew greatly annoyed at this cruel sentence, and

having sought counsel of the chief amongst my male and female friends, they represented to me that it would be unbecoming of me to remain at a court which was so hostile to the king my husband, and whence war was about to be openly declared against him, and they advised me, whilst this war should last, to reside outside its precincts, saying that it would even be more consistent with my dignity were I to find, if possible, some pretext for quitting the kingdom, either under cover of making a pilgrimage, or of paying a visit to some one of my relations.

Madame la Princesse de la Roche-sur-Yon, who was upon the point of taking her departure for the waters of Spa, was amongst those I had assembled together with the object of asking their advice. My brother likewise was present, having brought Mondoucet with him, who had been the king's agent in Flanders, and who, having but recently returned from that country, had told the king how much the Flemings regretted the encroachments made by the Spaniard upon the laws of France and upon the government and sovereignty of Flanders, adding that several members of the nobility and of the municipalities of towns had charged him to make the king understand that their hearts were entirely French, and that they were stretching out their arms towards him in welcome.

It was apparent to Mondoucet that the king paid but little heed to this information, as his mind was entirely occupied with the Huguenots, upon whom he was determined to vent the resentment occasioned by their having assisted my brother. He said nothing more to the king, therefore, upon the subject, but addressed himself to my brother, who being possessed of a truly princely nature, cared only to engage in important enterprises, being born to conquer rather than to retain. He was, consequently, at once captivated with the notion of this undertaking,[2] which was the more congenial to him because he perceived that he would be doing no kind of injustice by embarking in it, since he was only desirous of restoring to France that which had been wrested from her by the Spaniard. For the above reasons, Mondoucet had entered the service of my brother, who, upon the pretext of

[2] That of reconquering Flanders.

his escorting Madame la Princesse de la Roche-sur-Yon to the waters of Spa, was about to send him back to Flanders. Mondoucet perceiving that everybody was endeavoring to find some excuse whereby I might be enabled to quit France whilst the war lasted (some suggesting that I should seek refuge in Savoy, in Lorraine, at Saint Claude, or at Notre Dame de Lorette), said in a low voice to my brother:—

"If, sir, the Queen of Navarre could only feign some manner of indisposition for which the waters of Spa, whither Madame la Princesse de la Roche-sur-Yon is going, would be beneficial, it would be extremely advantageous to you in Flanders, as she would have an opportunity of doing you a good turn in that country."

My brother was delighted with this idea and with the excuse it furnished, and he at once exclaimed: "Oh, queen, seek no longer for a pretext! You must go to the waters of Spa, whither Madame la Princesse is going. I have remarked that you sometimes have an erysipelas upon the arm; you must say that, when the doctors formerly ordered you these waters, it was not the season for them, but that now is the proper time, and that you beg the king will permit you to go to Spa."

My brother said nothing further before the assembled company about the reasons which led him to desire this, as Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon was present, whom he regarded as Guise-ite and Spanish in his sympathies. I understood him, however, at once, and guessed that he referred to the Flemish enterprise about which Mondoucet had spoken to us both. All the company agreed that this would be an excellent plan, and Madame la Princesse de la Roche-sur-Yon, who was bound for Spa, and who was very fond of me, was delighted at the thought of it, and promised to accompany me there, and to go with me when I went to speak upon the subject to the queen my mother, in order to persuade her to fall in with the project.

Upon the morrow I found the queen alone, when I made her acquainted with the trouble and distress I experienced at the thought that the king my husband should be engaged in a war against the king, and that I should be absent from him, and I represented to her that, whilst this war continued, it

was neither dignified nor becoming of me to remain at court, since by so doing it would be impossible for me to escape one of two evils, for that either the king my husband would think I remained there for my own pleasure, and that I was not behaving towards him as I ought, or else the king would become suspicious of me, imagining that I should be always sending information to the king my husband, and that, as either one of these possibilities would be very injurious to me, I implored her to agree to my withdrawal from court in order that I might avoid it. I reminded her that some time ago the doctors had recommended me the Spa waters for the erysipelas upon my arm, to which I had been subject for so long, and that, as it was now the proper season for them, it seemed to me that if she would only consent to this journey, it would be very appropriate just now, not only as a pretext for my retirement from court, but for my leaving France, so that I might show the king my husband that, as I was unable to be with him on account of the king's misgivings, I declined to remain at a place which was hostile to him. I said I hoped that, by her prudence, she would so dispose matters in time that the king my husband should obtain peace of the king, and be reinstated in his good graces; that I should await this joyful intelligence, after which I would come and take leave of them before going to rejoin the king my husband; and I told her that upon this journey to Spa, Madame la Princesse de la Roche-sur-Yon, who was then present, would do me the honor to bear me company. The queen approved of this arrangement, and informed me that she was very glad I had resolved upon it, for that the bad advice given by the bishops when they counseled the king to ignore his engagements, and to undo everything that she had promised and contracted in his name, had caused her great annoyance for several reasons; particularly as she perceived that this impetuous torrent of events was overwhelming and ruining in its course some of the best and wisest of the king's servants and counselors (for he had dismissed four or five of the trustiest and most important of them); but she said that what had troubled her most in all this was the knowledge of what I had represented to her, namely, that if I remained at court I could not escape one of two evils, since either the king my husband

would take umbrage at it, and bear me illwill in consequence, or else the king would look upon me with suspicion, fancying that I should give information to the king my husband; and she promised, therefore, that she would persuade the king to consent to my journey.

This she did, and the king spoke to me upon the subject without displaying any signs of anger, being only too pleased at having been able to prevent me from joining the king my husband, whom he hated, at this time, more than anything in the world; and he ordered that a messenger should be at once dispatched to Dom John of Austria, who governed for the King of Spain in Flanders, to beg him to furnish me with the passports which were necessary to enable me to enter without hindrance the countries over which he had dominion, as I should have to pass through Flanders before I could reach Spa, which is situated in the bishopric of Liege.

This having been settled, we all dispersed in different directions in the course of a few days (days which were employed by my brother in instructing me in the services he required of me relative to his Flemish undertaking); the king and the queen my mother repairing to Poitiers, so as to be nearer to Monsieur de Mayenne's army, which was besieging Broüage, and which was about to proceed thence into Gascony to make war upon the king my husband; my brother departing with the other army, of which he had the command, to besiege Issoire and the other towns which he took at about this time; and I, taking my way into Flanders, accompanied by Madame la Princesse de la Roche-sur-Yon, Madame de Tournon, my lady of honor, Madame de Moüy de Picardie, Madame la Castelaine de Millon, Mademoiselle d'Attrie, Mademoiselle de Tournon, and seven or eight other young ladies, and, in respect to men, by Monsieur le Cardinal de Lenoncourt, Monsieur the Bishop of Langres, Monsieur de Moüy, Seigneur de Picardie (now father-in-law to one of Queen Louise's brothers, called the Comte de Chaligny), my first groom of the chambers, my first equerries, and several other gentlemen of my household.

This sprightly company made such a favorable impression upon the foreigners who foregathered with it, that their admiration for France was thereby greatly increased.

Upon returning thence to my home of La Fère, where I intended remaining until I should hear that peace was concluded, I found that a messenger from my brother had preceded me, who had orders to await me, and to return post-haste and inform him directly I arrived. My brother wrote me word by him that peace had been established, and that the king was about to return to Paris, but that, as regarded himself, his condition had gone from bad to worse, as he was condemned to endure the slights and indignities to which he and his followers were being perpetually subjected, whilst there arose every day fresh quarrels, which were fastened upon Bussi and the worthy fellows who were in his service. This made him await my return to La Fère with extreme impatience, in order that he might come and join me there.

I sent his messenger back to him immediately, and, upon being informed by him of my return, he at once dispatched Bussi to Angers, together with his entire household, and taking with him only some fifteen or twenty of his followers, set forth by post to join me at my home of La Fère. It was one of the greatest pleasures that I have ever experienced to receive under my own roof one that I loved and honored so much, and I took every pains to provide him with all the amusements that I thought would be likely to render his sojourn agreeable. This he took in such good part that he would willingly have exclaimed, like Saint Peter, "Here let us raise our tabernacles," had it not been that the right royal courage and generosity of soul which distinguished him incited him to nobler deeds. The tranquillity of our court, compared with the other from which he came, rendered the pleasures so sweet that he tasted there that he could not help perpetually exclaiming:—

"Oh, my queen, how pleasant it is to be with you! Good heavens, this society is a paradise replete with all sorts of delights, whilst that from which I came is a hell filled with all kinds of dissensions and torments!"

We passed nearly two months in this happy state, which seemed only like two short days, during which, having told my brother what I had done for him whilst traveling in Flanders, and of the condition in which I had left his affairs, he agreed that Monsieur le Comte de Montigny, brother of the Comte

de Lalain, should come to La Fère and consult with him as to the course to be pursued, so that he might be informed of the wishes of the people whilst making known to them his own. He arrived, accompanied by five or six of the most important personages in Hainault, one of whom was the bearer of a letter and message from Monsieur d'Ainsi, offering my brother his services, and assuring him that he might count upon the citadel of Cambray. Monsieur de Montigny was commissioned by his brother, the Comte de Lalain, to place the whole of Hainault and Artois, in which there are several fine towns, at my brother's disposal.

Having received these direct overtures, my brother sent back the delegates, after presenting them with gold medals upon which were depicted his head and my own, and assuring them of the improvements and benefits which they might hope for from him, in consequence of which, upon their return, they made every preparation for his coming, whilst he, with the intention of putting his forces in readiness to proceed to Flanders, returned to court in order to endeavor to obtain the provisions from the king which were necessary for his enterprise.

As I desired to set off upon my voyage into Gascony, and had made everything ready to this end, I returned to Paris, and was met by my brother when a day's journey from thence, whilst the king, the queen my mother, and Queen Louise, with the whole court, did me the honor to come and meet me as far as Saint Denis, where I was to dine, and where they received me with much honor and cordiality, taking great pleasure in making me describe the splendors and magnificences of my journey and sojourn at Liege, together with the adventures consequent upon my return. Whilst we were conversing thus pleasantly, being all of us seated inside the chariot of the queen my mother, we reached Paris, where, after supper, when the dancing was finished, I approached the king and the queen my mother, who were together, and entreated them not to take it amiss if I begged them to permit me to go and rejoin my husband, for that, as peace was now concluded, such a course could not inspire them with mistrust, and that it would be both unseemly and injurious to me if I put off going any longer.

They both appeared to approve thoroughly of this plan, and commended me for desiring it, and the queen my mother said that she would like to accompany me, as it was necessary that she should visit that part of the country in the interest of the king, to whom she likewise said that he ought to furnish me with the means requisite for my journey, which he readily agreed to do.

As I did not wish to leave anything undone which might oblige me to return to court, where I could never have known any happiness once my brother (whom I saw preparing to depart very soon upon his Flemish expedition) was gone, I begged the queen my mother to recall to mind what she had promised me when peace had been concluded with my brother; that, in the event of my departing for Gascony, she would have certain estates assigned to me for my marriage-portion. She recollected this, and as the king considered that my demand was very reasonable, he promised me that the matter should be arranged. I begged that it might be settled quickly, as I desired, with his permission, to start at the commencement of the following month.

Matters were thus concluded, but after court fashion; for, instead of allowing me to set out, in spite of my daily solicitations, they obliged me to drag on at court for five or six months, and my brother likewise, who was all as impatient to proceed upon his expedition into Flanders.

The marriage of Sainct Luc took place at about this time, and as my brother did not wish to be present at it, he begged me not to go to it either; whereupon the queen my mother, who was not overpleased with the insufferable impudence of these young men, and who was fearful, likewise, that the day would be passed in merrymaking and debauchery, and that, as my brother had not consented to join in it, they might play him some trick which might be injurious to him, arranged that the king should give his consent to her going, upon the day of the wedding, to dine at Sainct Maur, and took my brother and myself there with her. It was upon Easter Monday. We returned in the evening, the queen my mother having so lectured my brother that she had succeeded in inducing him to consent to appear at the ball, so as to please the king. But instead of mending matters, this only made

them worse, for Maugiron and others of his faction who were present, began taunting him with such cuttings words that any one even of lesser degree than himself would have been offended at them—telling him that it was labor lost for him to have changed his dress, that he might have come in the one he wore in the afternoon, seeing that he had arrived at dusk, an hour extremely appropriate to him, and twitting him with his ugliness and meanness of stature.

All this was repeated to the bride, who was near him, loud enough for it to be overheard. My brother, knowing that this was only done with the object of inducing him to reply, and of thus placing himself upon bad terms with the king, withdrew from where he was, so filled with indignation and annoyance that he could scarcely contain himself; and, after having talked over the matter with Monsieur de la Chastre, he decided to go away for a few days upon a hunting expedition, thinking by his absence to diminish the animosity of these youths and thus to facilitate the conclusion of his business with the king relative to the preparation of the army for his Flemish enterprise. He went off to find the queen my mother amongst the company, and made known to her the resolution he had arrived at. She was much annoyed at what had occurred, approved of his decision, and promised him that she would persuade the king to agree to it, and that she would ask him during my brother's absence, to furnish him quickly with what had been promised him for his expedition into Flanders, and, as Monsieur de Villequier happened to be present, she ordered him to go and inform the king of my brother's desire to repair for some days to the chase, which it seemed to her could only be productive of good, as a means of appeasing all the quarrels between him and these youths—Maugiron, Sainct Luc, Quelus, and the rest.

My brother withdrew to his chamber, and looking upon his leave of absence as already obtained, desired his servants to be prepared upon the morrow to proceed to Sainct Germain, where he intended to remain for a few days to follow the stag, and ordered his chief huntsman to have the dogs in readiness there; after which he retired to rest, with the intention of rising on the following morning and consoling or diverting himself a little with the chase after the dissensions

of the court. Monsieur de Villequier, in the meanwhile, had gone by command of the queen my mother to ask for my brother's leave of absence from the king, who in the first instance granted it. But having shut himself up in his closet with a Jeroboam's council of some five or six young men they represented to him that this departure was very suspicious, and reduced him to such a state of apprehension that they led him to commit one of the greatest follies that was ever perpetrated in our day—namely, to detain my brother prisoner, with all his principal followers.

If this decision had been rashly arrived at, it was still more indiscreetly carried out, for the king, after hurrying on his night gear, went straightway to the queen my mother, in a state of the utmost excitement, as though there had been some public panic, or the foe had been at the gate, exclaiming:—

"How, madam, could you think of asking my permission to allow my brother to depart? Do you not perceive, were he to go, the peril to which you expose my realm? Underneath this pretext of hunting, there lurks, doubtless, some dangerous design. I am going to arrest him, together with all his people, and shall have his coffers searched. I feel assured that we shall make some important discoveries."

And thereupon, seeing that he was accompanied by the Sieur de Lossé, captain of the guards, and several Scottish archers. . . .

The queen my mother, fearing that in his impetuosity he might commit some act to endanger my brother's life, entreated that she might go with him, and all disarrayed as she was, wrapping herself up as best she could in her dressing-gown, followed him up to my brother's room, at the door of which the king knocked violently, calling out that it was the king, and that he must be admitted.

My brother woke up with a start, and well knowing that he had done nothing which need give him cause to fear, bade Cangé, his *valet de chambre,* open the door to the king; whereupon the king, entering in a fury, commenced raging at him, saying that it was evident that he would never give over plotting against the state, and that he would teach him what came of putting himself in opposition to his king. There-

upon he ordered his archers to carry off my brother's coffers and to drag his attendants out of the room. He himself searched in my brother's bed to see if he could find any papers there, and as my brother happened to have a letter from Madame de Sauve, which he had received that very night, he held it in his hand to prevent it from being seen. The king insisted upon taking it from him. As my brother resisted this, and implored him, with clasped hands, not to look at it, the king only desired to see it all the more, deeming that this paper would be amply sufficient to settle my brother's account. At last, the king having opened it in the presence of the queen my mother, they were all as much embarrassed as was Cato, when, having obliged Cæsar, in the Senate, to display the paper which had been brought to him, and which he declared was something affecting the welfare of the Republic, it turned out to be a love-letter which the sister of this very Cato had addressed to himself.

The shame and annoyance occasioned by this misapprehension increased the king's anger instead of diminishing it, and, without listening to my brother, who kept on asking of what he was accused, and why he was being treated thus, he committed him to the keeping of Monsieur de Lossé and the Scotchmen, after ordering them not to allow him to speak to anybody.

This happened an hour after midnight. My brother remained in this situation, feeling more concerned upon my account than upon his own—for he fully believed that I had been served in the same fashion, and did not think that what had commenced in so violent and unjust a manner could have any other than a disastrous ending—until, observing that Monsieur de Lossé's eyes were filled with tears of regret at seeing things brought to this pass, and not daring, on account of the archers who were present, to converse with him with any freedom, he merely inquired of him what had become of me.

Monsieur de Lossé replied that as yet nothing had been required of me, whereat my brother made answer:—

"It is a great relief to me in my distress to know that my sister is at liberty, but, in spite of her being so, I am assured that she loves me so much that she would rather share my

captivity than continue in freedom without me;" and he begged Monsieur de Lossé to go and entreat the queen my mother to obtain permission from the king that I should be detained a prisoner with him, which request was immediately granted.

The firm confidence which my brother had in the depth and strength of my affection inspired me with such especial gratitude that, although he had already placed me under many an obligation by his kindnesses, I have always set this one before them all.

As soon as he had obtained this permission, which was at about dawn, he begged Monsieur de Lossé to dispatch one of the Scottish archers to break this sad news to me, and to conduct me to his chamber.

When this archer entered my room, he found me still asleep, unconscious of all that had happened. He drew aside my curtain, and said, with the accent peculiar to the Scotch:—

"Good day, madam! Monsieur your brother desires that you will come and see him."

I gazed at him scarcely awake, fancying that I must be dreaming. Then, recognizing him, inquired whether he was not one of the Scottish guard. He replied that he was, and I then rejoined:—

"What is the matter? Has my brother no other messenger but you to send to me?"

He answered that he had not, for that he had been deprived of his servants, and he then related to me, in his jargon, what had befallen my brother in the night, and told me that he had obtained permission for me to bear him company during his captivity. Then, seeing that I was greatly distressed, he approached me and said in an undertone:—

"Do not distress yourself; I have the means of rescuing your brother, and will do so, never fear; only I shall have to depart with him."

I promised him all the recompense that he could have hoped for from us, and after dressing myself hastily, set off with him to my brother's apartment.

I was obliged to cross the whole breadth of the courtyard, which was thronged with people, who were generally eager to behold me and to do me honor.

But now, perceiving that Fortune was turning her back upon me, they too pretended not to see me.

Upon reaching my brother's room, I found him so resigned that no change had taken place either in his demeanor or in the calm which was habitual to him. When he beheld me, he said, embracing me, and with a countenance which was joyous rather than sad:—

"I beseech you, my queen, to dry your tears! In my present situation your grief is the only thing that could afflict me, since my innocence and the honesty of my intentions prevent me from fearing any of the accusations of my enemies. If it is their intention to sacrifice my life unjustly, those who commit this barbarity will do themselves more harm than they will do me, who am possessed of sufficient courage and resolution to despise an unjust condemnation. Neither is this the thing that I most dread, for my existence has been hitherto encompassed with so many troubles and disappointments that, never having tasted any of the joys of this world, I ought not to feel any regret at leaving them. My only fear is, that being unable to bring about my death by fair means, they may cause me to languish in the solitude of a long captivity; although, even then, I should make light of their tyranny if you would but grant me the favor of consoling me with your presence."

These words, instead of arresting my tears, caused me to pour forth well-nigh all the essence of my being.

I answered him with sobs, that my life and interests were bound up in his; that it was in the power of God alone to prevent me from bearing him company in whatsoever condition he might chance to be, and that, if he were to be removed elsewhere and I was not permitted to accompany him, I should kill myself in his presence.

Whilst we were conversing thus, and both seeking vainly to discover the reason that had induced the king to display such cruel and unjust bitterness towards my brother, the hour came round for the opening of the palace gates, when a rash youth who was in Bussi's service, having been recognized and stopped by the guards, was questioned as to whither he was going; whereupon he made answer, in surprise, that he was going to seek his master. This speech

having been reported to the king, a suspicion arose that Bussi must be in the Louvre, which he had indeed entered that afternoon, upon returning in my brother's suite from Saint Germain, and at his desire, as he wanted to confer with him upon business connected with the army which he was raising for Flanders—as he did not then know that he should leave court so soon as he had afterwards suddenly resolved upon doing.

In the evening, in consequence of what I have related, L'Archant, the captain of the guards, having received orders from the king to search for Bussi, and to arrest both him and Simier (and who conducted this investigation with regret, being an intimate friend of Bussi and connected with him by marriage, so that Bussi always called him his father, whilst he spoke of Bussi as his son), went up to Simier's room, where he arrested him, after which, as he had no doubt but that Bussi was in hiding there, he made a superficial search, and was very well pleased when he failed in his attempt to discover him.

But Bussi, who was lying on the bed, and who perceived that he was about to be left alone in the room—being afraid lest the commission should be entrusted to some one else with whom he might not be in like safety, and desiring rather to be in the keeping of L'Archant, a worthy man and a friend, and possessing, as he did, a gay and ribald disposition, upon which dangers and risks could never produce any impression of fear—thrust his head through the curtain just as L'Archant was passing out through the door in charge of Simier, and called out:—

"Hulloa, father! Are you going away thus without me? Do you not consider that my behavior has been more creditable than that of this scoundrel of a Simier?"

L'Archant turned round and said:—

"Ah, my son, would to God that I had lost an arm rather than that you should have been here!"

To which Bussi replied:—

"That is a sign, good father, that my affairs must be prospering!" and he continued to make fun of Simier, perceiving what a state of quaking apprehension he was in.

L'Archant placed them in a guarded room, and then pro-

ceeded to arrest Monsieur de la Chastre, whom he conveyed to the Bastille.

Whilst all these events were taking place, the custody of my brother had been given to Monsieur de Loste, a worthy old man who had once been tutor to the king my husband, and who loved me like a daughter. He detested the evil counsel by which the king allowed himself to be governed, and being desirous of obliging us both, he determined to afford my brother an opportunity of escape. In order to discover his intention to me he commanded the Scottish archers to take up their position upon the step outside the door, only retaining two of them with him in whom he had confidence. Then he said, taking me aside:—

"The heart of every true Frenchman must bleed at beholding what we behold to-day! I have served the king your father too long for me not to sacrifice my life for his children. I believe that I shall have charge of Monsieur your brother wheresoever he is confined. Pray assure him that I will free him at the risk of my life. We must not converse together any longer, lest my intention should be discovered, but you can count upon this for certain."

This hope consoled me somewhat, and recovering my courage, I told my brother that we ought not to submit to this kind of investigation without knowing what we had done; that it was treating us like common rogues to shut us up after this fashion, and I begged Monsieur de Loste to ask the king, as he would not permit the queen my mother to come up and visit us, that it would please him to acquaint us by one of his servants of the cause of our detention. Monsieur de Combaut, the head of the young men's party, was thereupon dispatched to us, who informed us, with his usual solemnity, that he was sent to us to inquire what explanation we desired to give to the king. We replied that we wished to speak to some one from the king, in order to know the reason of our arrest, as we were at a loss to imagine what it could be.

He answered us, gravely, that gods and kings must not be called to account for their actions, since they did all things for a good and just purpose. We told him that we were not persons who ought to be detained after the manner of those who are subjected to the inquisition, and are left to divine

the cause of their offending; but we could drag nothing else from him except that he would occupy himself in our behalf and do the best that he could for us.

My brother fell to laughing, but I, being entirely absorbed by misery at beholding the brother whom I loved better than myself in danger, had great difficulty in preventing myself from talking to Combaut as he deserved.

Whilst he was making his report to the king, the queen my mother, who had sought her chamber in the state of affliction that may be imagined (for, being a very prudent person, she foresaw the trouble that this extreme measure, executed without rhyme or reason, might produce in the realm if my brother did not take it good-naturedly), sent off to summon all the elders of the council, consisting of Monsieur the Chancellor, with the princes, nobles, and marshals of France, who were all extremely scandalized at the bad advice that the king had received. They told the queen my mother that she ought to oppose it, and point out to the king the injury that he was doing himself; that one could not prevent the wrong which had been already done, but that it must be redressed as effectually as possible.

The queen my mother thereupon went at once to seek the king, accompanied by all these his ministers, who pointed out to him the gravity of these proceedings. As he was no longer under the pernicious influence of the young men, he took the representations of the old noblemen and counselors in good part, and begged the queen my mother to set matters to rights, and to arrange that my brother should forget everything that had occurred; that he should bear the young men no illwill, and that, through the same means, a reconciliation should be brought about between Bussi and Quelus.

This having been determined, all the guards that had been set over my brother were immediately withdrawn, and the queen my mother, repairing to his room, told him that he ought to praise God for the mercy He had shown him in delivering him from so great a peril, seeing that there had been moments when she scarcely dared hope for his life; and that, since he knew by this that the king's mood was such that he was not only offended by facts, but by fancies, and was so determined in his opinions that, without pausing at her

counsel, or at anybody else's, he did everything that came into his head, my brother would do well, so as not to put him into these tempers, to make up his mind to accommodate himself to his will, and to go forthwith and seek him, in order to prove that he did not cherish any resentment at what had been perpetrated against his person, and that he would dismiss it from his memory. We answered her that we had indeed good cause to praise God for the mercy He had vouchsafed us in preserving us from the injustice it was intended to do us—in respect to which, after God, we admitted that we were wholly indebted to her—but that my brother's rank did not permit of his being imprisoned without cause and then liberated without some form of justification and acquittal.

The queen replied that God Himself was powerless to undo what had already come to pass, but that the irregularities connected with my brother's arrest would be made up for by causing his liberation to be attended with all the honor and satisfaction that he could desire; but that he, likewise, must give satisfaction to the king in everything, addressing him so respectfully, and manifesting so much zeal in his service, as that he should rest contented therewith; and that he must arrange, furthermore, that Bussi and Quelus should become reconciled in such a manner that no bone of contention should remain to cause further quarrels. For it must be confessed that the chief cause which had led to this evil counsel and its consequences had been the dread of a duel solicited by the elder Bussi—the worthy sire of so worthy a son—who had begged the king to allow him to become the second of his son, the gallant Bussi, and that Monsieur de Quelus should, in like manner, act as second to his own son, to the end that they four should finally settle this dispute without involving the court—as heretofore—in the quarrel, or putting so many people to inconvenience. My brother promised her that Bussi, seeing that there was no hope of his being permitted to fight, would do whatever she commanded in order to get out of prison.

The queen my mother, thereupon, went down to the king, and persuaded him to consent to liberate my brother with due respect; to which end he came to the room of the queen my mother, accompanied by all the princes, lords, and other

advisers belonging to his council, and sent Monsieur de Villequier to summon us; when, upon passing through the chambers and reception-rooms on our way to his majesty's presence, we found them thronged with people, who gazed at us with tears in their eyes, and praised God at beholding that we were delivered out of danger.

When we came into the room of the queen my mother, we found the king with the company I have mentioned, who said to my brother, upon beholding him, that he begged he would not take amiss what he had done in his anxiety for the tranquillity of his realm, or be offended at it, and that he would not believe that it had been done with any intention of displeasing him.

My brother replied that he owed and had sworn such allegiance to his majesty as would insure his being always well pleased with whatsoever seemed good unto him, but that he entreated him to consider that the devotion and fidelity he had shown him did not deserve such treatment; that, nevertheless, he only reproached his ill-luck, and should be perfectly satisfied if the king would acknowledge his innocence. The king answered that he had no doubt of it, and that he begged him to count upon his affection as he had done heretofore. Upon this the queen my mother took hold of them both, and made them embrace. The king then commanded that Bussi should be summoned, in order that he might become reconciled to Quelus, and that Simier and Monsieur de la Chastre should be set at liberty. When Bussi came into the room, with that fine air which was natural to him, the king told him that he desired him to become reconciled to Quelus, and that there should be no further mention of their quarrel, and commanded him to embrace Quelus forthwith. Bussi made answer: "Sire, if it please you that I should kiss him, I am quite agreeable;" and suiting the action to the word, he straightway gave him a hug after the manner of a Pantaloon, whereat all the company, notwithstanding that they were still awed and astonished at what had taken place, could not refrain from laughing. Those who were wisest considered that the meager satisfaction my brother had received was not public enough to compensate for so great a wrong.

When this was over, the king and the queen my mother came up to me and told me that I must help my brother to dismiss any memories which might interfere with the obedience and affection he owed to the king.

I replied that my brother was so prudent and so much attached to the king's service, that he did not need to be persuaded thereunto either by me or by anybody else, but that he had never received, and never should receive, from me, any other advice than that which would be conformable to their will and to his own duty. As it was by this time three o'clock in the afternoon, and as no one had as yet dined, the queen my mother proposed that we should all dine together, and requested my brother and myself to go and change our apparel, which was in keeping with the sad situation whence we had just emerged, and that we should array ourselves in order to be present at the king's supper and at the dance. She was obeyed with respect to such things as were possible—namely, the taking off and putting on of apparel—but as concerned the countenance, the true index of the soul, the righteous wrath we had experienced was plainly legible upon both of ours, having been imprinted there with all the violence of sorrow and just contempt wherewith we were possessed in consequence of the performance of this tragi-comedy. When it had been terminated after this fashion, the queen my mother, perceiving before her the Chevalier de Seurre, whom she had appointed to sleep in my brother's room, and in whose conversation she sometimes took pleasure, seeing that he was possessed of a lively wit and said readily whatever he chose, having a somewhat cynical turn of humor, said to him:—

"Well, Monsieur de Seurre, what say you to all this?"

"I consider it too much to have been done without premeditation," he answered, "and too little to profit by."

Then, turning to me, he said aside, so that she could not overhear him:—

"I do not believe that we have reached the last act of this drama; I shall be much deceived in that man" (alluding to my brother) "if he allows the matter to rest here."

The day having passed thus—the wound having been only fomented externally, and not healed from within—the young

men who possessed the king, judging my brother's nature by their own, and as their raw experience prevented them from realizing the power which duty and patriotism may exert over a prince as great and illustrious as he was, persuaded the king, so as to identify their own interests with his, that my brother would never forget the public insult he had received, and would seek to revenge himself for it.

The king, forgetful of the folly these youths had already induced him to commit, became immediately imbued with this second idea, and commanded that the captains of guards should keep careful watch at the doors to see that my brother did not go out, and that all his followers should be turned out of the Louvre every night, with the exception of those who generally slept in his room or in his closet. My brother perceiving that he was thus at the mercy of these heartless youths, who disposed of him, as regarded the king, just as their fancy moved them, and fearing from the recent example of what had been done to him, without cause or reason, that worse might happen to him, determined, after he had endured the fear of this possibility for three days, to quit the court never to return, and to withdraw to his own possessions, with the view of hurrying on his preparations with as much promptitude as he could, to the end that he might set out for Flanders. He communicated this desire to me, and, as I saw that in it lay his only hope of safety, and that neither the king nor this realm would suffer any prejudice in consequence, I approved of it, and upon considering the means of carrying it out, seeing that he could not make his escape by the doors of the Louvre, which were so jealously watched that the guards even scrutinized the faces of all those who passed through them, there seemed to be no other way than for him to get out by the window of my room, which was upon the second story, looking out upon the moat; and he begged me, with this object, to procure a stout cable of the necessary length.

I set about doing this at once, and caused a broken bed-trunk to be removed that very day, as though to get it repaired, by a boy who was faithful to me, and who, when he brought it back in a few hours' time, had put the cable we required inside it.

When the supper-hour came, as it happened to be a fast day, when the king did not sup, the queen my mother and I supped alone together in her small apartment. Here my brother, notwithstanding that he was usually sufficiently patient and discreet in all his actions, came to me as I was rising from table, impelled by the recollection of the insult he had received and of the danger that threatened him, and being impatient to get away, whispered to me to make haste and come quickly to my room, where I should find him.

Monsieur de Matignon, who was not at that time a marshal, a dangerous and cunning Norman, who did not like my brother, having either been informed of our plan by one who had not held his tongue, or else guessing it from the manner in which my brother had spoken to me, said to the queen my mother, as she was returning to her room, that it was evident my brother intended to make off; that he knew perfectly well that he would be gone by the morrow, and that she ought to prevent it. This conversation I partly overheard, as I was near enough to her to do so, and was besides upon the alert, observing attentively all that took place, after the manner of persons in like case, who, when upon the eve of their deliverance, are wont to be agitated by all manner of hopes and fears.

I perceived that the queen was troubled at this news, which made me still more apprehensive lest we should have been discovered. Upon entering her closet she drew me aside and said to me:—

"Are you aware of what Matignon told me?"

I replied: "I did not hear what it was, madam, but I saw that it was something that pained you."

"Yes," she answered; "it pained me very much, for you know that I have pledged my word to the king that your brother shall not depart, and Matignon has just told me that he knows perfectly well that he will not be here to-morrow."

As I now found myself betwixt the horns of a double dilemma, since I should either have had to break faith with my brother and place his life in jeopardy, or to swear against the truth (a thing that I would not have done to escape a thousand deaths), I was in such great perplexity that, if God had not assisted me, my demeanor would have plainly be-

trayed what I feared might have been discovered. But seeing that God helps all good intentions, and that His divine goodness operated towards this work of saving my brother, I was enabled to compose my countenance and my speech in such wise that the queen could ascertain nothing but what I chose, whilst at the same time I neither militated against my soul nor my conscience by the taking of any false oath. I merely asked her whether she was not aware of the hatred that Monsieur de Matignon bore my brother, and said that he was a malicious mischief-maker who could not endure to see us all agreed; that I would forfeit my existence if my brother had any desire to make off; and that, as he had never hidden anything from me, I was quite certain that he would have informed me of it if he had had any such intention. I said this feeling well assured that, once my brother was safe, no one would dare to do me any injury, whilst even supposing that the worst happened, and that we were destined to be discovered, I infinitely preferred to pledge my life than to outrage my soul by a false oath, or to place my brother's existence in danger.

She replied, without seeking deeply into the meaning of my words:—

"Consider well what you say; you will be my surety for it; you will answer for it upon your life!"

I replied, smiling, that this was what I meant, and, bidding her good night, repaired to my room, where, after I had undressed, in haste, and got into bed, in order to be enabled to dismiss my ladies and maids, my brother joined me, with Simier and Cangé, as soon as I was left with only my waiting-women. I then got up again, and after we had adjusted the rope by means of a stick, and looked into the moat to see that there was nobody there, with the help of only three of my waiting-women who slept in my room, and of the chamber-boy who had brought me the rope, I let down first my brother (who laughed and joked without being in the least afraid, although the height was very great), then Simier, who trembled and could scarcely hold on from fear, and then Cangé, my brother's *valet de chambre*. God directed my brother and protected him so happily from discovery that he reached Saincte Geneviesve, where Bussi was awaiting him, who, with

the abbot's consent, had made a hole in the town-wall. Through this hole he passed out of the town, and finding horses all ready awaiting him, withdrew to Angers without encountering any mischance.

Just as we were letting down Cangé, the last of all, a man jumped up from the bottom of the moat and set off running towards the apartment which adjoins the tennis-court, in the direction leading to the guard-house. In the midst of all this risk I had never apprehended anything upon my own behalf, having been entirely occupied with my brother's safety or danger; but I was now half senseless with terror, deeming that this man was somebody who, in accordance with Monsieur de Matignon's warning, might have been posted there to watch us, and, fancying that my brother had been captured, I became in a state of despair such as can only be imagined by those who have gone through similar experiences.

Whilst I was in this extremity, my women, more anxious than I was for my safety and their own, took the rope and threw it into the fire, so that it might not be discovered, supposing that, by ill-luck, the man who had arisen out of the moat should have been set there as a spy. This rope, which happened to be a very long one, made such a blaze that the chimney caught fire, so that the flames came out through the top, and being perceived by the archers who were on guard that night, they came and knocked violently at my door, saying that I must open it directly. Thereupon, although I made sure at the first knock that my brother was taken and that we were both lost, as I had always put my trust in God, He enabled me to retain my presence of mind (a favor it has pleased His divine majesty to vouchsafe to me in all the perils in which I have found myself), and seeing that the rope was only half burnt, I told my women that they were to go boldly to the door and ask them what they wanted, speaking low, as if I had been asleep. This they did, whereupon the archers said that my chimney had caught fire, and that they came to extinguish it. My women told them that it was nothing; that they could quite well put it out themselves, and that they must take care not to awaken me.

This alarm was scarcely over when, two hours later, there comes Monsieur de Lossé to convey me to the presence of the

king and of the queen my mother, in order that I might give them an account of my brother's evasion, whereof they had been apprised by the Abbot of Saincte Geneviesve, who, so as not to become compromised in the affair, had, with my brother's consent, informed the king of it as soon as he knew that he was far enough upon his way to insure his not being captured, saying that my brother had arrived at his house unexpectedly; that he had detained him there, but that during this time he and his followers had practiced the hole in the wall, and that he had been unable to come and inform the king of it sooner. As it was still night, Monsieur de Lossé found me in bed. I at once arose, wrapped in my dressing-gown, when one of my foolish and affrighted women caught hold of it, screaming and weeping, and saying that I should never return. Monsieur de Lossé remarked to me as he thrust her aside: "If this woman had made this scene before any one who was not as devoted to you as I am, it would have got you into trouble. But as it is, fear nothing, and give thanks to God, for Monsieur your brother is in safety."

This information proved very useful in fortifying me against the threats and menaces which I had to undergo from the king, whom I found seated at the bedside of the queen my mother, in such a passion that I believe he would have made me suffer from it if her presence and the fear inspired by my brother's departure, had not strongly restrained him.

They both said that I had assured them that my brother should not depart, and that I had pledged myself to them thereunto. I replied that this was true, but that he had deceived me in this as he had deceived them; that, nevertheless, I could answer to them, at the risk of my life, that his departure would not result in any deviation from his allegiance to the king, and that he was only going home in order to prepare what he required for his expedition into Flanders. This mollified the king somewhat, and he allowed me to return to my room. He very soon afterwards received intelligence from my brother, who assured him that his desire had been only what I had represented it to be. This put an end to the reproaches, although it did not do away with the displeasure of the king, who, upon a pretense of wishing to assist in the

preparations for my brother's army for Flanders, did, in reality, all that he could, in an underhand manner, to delay and hinder them.

BOOK THE THIRD

TIME went on after this fashion, and as I continued to importune the king at all hours to allow me to go and join the king my husband, and as he perceived that he could no longer refuse me this request and did not wish me to depart bearing him illwill; as likewise he desired, above all things, to divert me from my affection for my brother, he endeavored to conciliate me by every kind of benefit, giving me, in accordance with the promise made me by the queen my mother at the peace of Sens, the assignment of my marriage-portion in lands, and, furthermore, the patronage of sundry offices and benefices, and besides the pension such as the daughters of France are accustomed to receive, he made me an additional allowance from the money in his coffers, and took the trouble to come and visit me every morning and to represent to me how advantageous his friendship was to me, enabling me to live quite happily, whilst that of my brother would, in the end, bring about my destruction, with a thousand other arguments to a like effect.

He could never succeed, however, in making me swerve from the fidelity I had sworn to my brother, nor could he extort from me aught else than that my greatest desire was to behold my brother restored to his favor; that it seemed to me that he had never deserved to be deprived of it, and that I was sure that he would endeavor to render himself worthy of it by every kind of obedient and devoted service; that, as regarded myself, I felt that I was indebted to him for all the honors and benefits that he was conferring upon me; that he might rest assured that, once I was with the king my husband, I should not fail to obey any of the commands with which it might please him to charge me, and that I should labor to no end so earnestly as to maintain the king my husband in his allegiance. As my brother was just at this time upon the point of starting for Flanders, and as the queen my mother desired to go and see him at Alençon before he set out, I besought the king that he would be pleased to

permit me to accompany her, in order to bid him farewell. To this he unwillingly consented.

Upon my return from Alençon, everything having been prepared for my journey, I again entreated the king to allow me to depart.

The queen my mother, who had likewise to make an expedition into Gascony in the interests of the king, (that country having need of either his or her presence), decided that I should not set forth without her, and as the court was removing from Paris, the king conducted us to Dolinville, where, after having entertained us for some days, we took our leave of him, and shortly afterwards came into Guyenne, which was the province that was under the government of the king my husband, and, in consequence, I was everywhere given a public reception.

The king my husband came to meet the queen my mother as far as La Reolle—a town which was still held by those of the religion by reason of the mistrust which yet possessed them—the disturbed condition of the country not having permitted of his coming any further. He was bravely attended by all the lords and gentlemen belonging to the religion in Gascony, and by several Catholics.

It had been arranged by the queen my mother that she should make only a short sojourn here, but so many accidents supervened, upon the side both of the Huguenots and of the Catholics, that she was constrained to remain eighteen months, and as she was angry and weary at this delay, there were times when she was inclined to think that it had been purposely contrived by them, to the end that they might enjoy the society of her maids of honor, as the king my husband had become deeply enamored of Dayelle, and Monsieur de Thurene of La Vergne. This, however, did not prevent my husband from showing me great respect and affection; as much, indeed, as I could have desired, for he informed me, upon the very first day, of all the devices which had been invented, at the time of his residence at court, to set us against one another, which he admitted had only been with the object of sowing dissension between my brother and himself, and of thus ruining us all three, and he expressed great satisfaction at our having come together again.

I succeeded thus in remedying this matter, but Fortune, who, when she begins persecuting one, is not to be discouraged by the first rebuff, contrived another pitfall for me—far more dangerous than the first—by arranging that Fosseuse, who was extremely fond of the king my husband, and who, up to this time, had only allowed him such familiarities as might with all propriety be permitted, should surrender herself so entirely to his will as that she should unfortunately become with child. Whereupon, finding herself in this condition, she completely changed her attitude towards me, and instead of being open with me, as was her custom, and doing me all the good services that she possibly could with respect to the king my husband, she commenced avoiding me, and doing me as many evil turns as she had previously done me good ones. She possessed so much influence over the king my husband that, in a very short time, I perceived he was entirely changed. He became estranged, avoided me, and no longer took the same pleasure in my society as he had done during the four or five happy years that I had spent in Gascony, when Fosseuse had conducted herself respectably.

When the peace to which I have alluded was signed, and my brother had proceeded to France to form his army, the king my husband and I returned to Nerac, where we were no sooner arrived than Fosseuse—either as an excuse to conceal her condition, or else in order to get rid of its consequences—put it into the king's head to go to the waters of Aigues-caudes, which are situated in Bearn.

I begged the king my husband to excuse me if I did not accompany him to Aigues-caudes, as he knew that, since the insult I had received at Pau, I had made a vow never to enter Bearn unless the Catholic religion was established there. He pressed me earnestly to go, until he lost his temper, but I ended by excusing myself. He then told me that his girl (for it was thus that he designated Fosseuse) required to drink the waters for the indigestion from which she suffered. I told him that I was quite willing that she should go there. He replied that it would not be seemly for her to go there without me; that it would cause people to imagine evil where none existed, and he became very angry with me because I refused to take her to the waters. Finally, I contrived that he should

be satisfied if two of her companions, Rebours and Villesavin, went with her, together with the governess.

They departed with him, whilst I waited at Baviere. I heard every day from Rebours (whom he had formerly loved —a depraved and deceitful girl, who was only desirous of ousting Fosseuse in order that she might supplant her in the favor of the king my husband) that Fosseuse was doing me all the worst offices in the world, maligning me continually, and persuading herself that if she had a son and could get rid of me, she might marry the king my husband, who, upon his side, had resolved, upon his return to Baviere, to go to Pau, and to take me there, either with my consent or by force.

My annoyance upon receiving this news may be well imagined. Nevertheless, as I had confidence in the goodness of God and in that of the king my husband, I passed the time of my sojourn at Baviere in waiting for the king, and in shedding tears as numerous as the drops of water which he and his companions were drinking at Aigues-caudes, notwithstanding that I was surrounded by the whole of the Catholic nobility of those parts, who strove by every means to make me forget my troubles.

At the end of a month or five weeks, the king my husband, having returned with Fosseuse and his other companions, learnt from one of the gentlemen who had been with me how unhappy I was from the fear of having to proceed to Pau. He did not, therefore, press me so much to go, but only said that he would have greatly desired that I should do so if I had been agreeable. But as my tears and protestations combined to show him that I would rather die than go, he altered his plans, and we returned to Nerac.

Here, as I found that everybody was talking about Fosseuse's condition, and that not only at our court, but throughout the country, it was made the subject of common gossip, I desired to put an end to the rumor, and made up my mind to speak to her. I took her aside, therefore, into my closet, and addressed her thus:—

"In spite of your having for some time estranged yourself from me, and of my having been led to believe that you make mischief between me and the king my husband, the friendship

I have always borne you, combined with that which I have sworn to the honorable family to which you belong, does not admit of my refusing to assist you in the distressing position in which you find yourself, and which I beg you will not deny to me; and as I do not wish that disgrace should fall upon both you and myself—who have as much interest in the matter as you have, seeing that you are in my service—you may rely upon my acting towards you like a mother. I have an excuse, on account of the plague, which, as you are aware, is raging in this country, and even in this very town, for proceeding to Mas d'Agenois, a house belonging to the king my husband, which is situated in a very lonely spot. I will only take with me such a following as you may yourself choose. Meanwhile, the king my husband will go hunting in quite another direction, whence he will not return until after the time of your delivery, and we shall thus put an end to this scandal, which concerns me no less than it does yourself."

Instead of being grateful to me for this, she answered me with great haughtiness, saying that she would give the lie to all those who had talked about her; that for some time I had taken a dislike to her, and that I was seeking for a pretext whereby to ruin her.

She spoke as loudly as I had spoken low, and quitting my closet in a rage, went to the king my husband and worked him up into the same state, so that he became greatly incensed with me for what I had said to his girl—declaring that she would give the lie to all those who had accused her—and he continued to bear me malice for this, until, some months having elapsed, the hour of her delivery was at hand.

She was taken ill in the morning at daybreak, whilst occupying the room of the maids of honor. She sent for my doctor, and begged him to go and inform the king my husband, which he did.

We were sleeping in the same room, in separate beds, according to our custom. When my husband was informed of this news by the doctor, he was greatly embarrassed as to what to do, fearing, on the one hand, that she should be discovered, and on the other that she might not be properly attended to, for he loved her dearly. In the end, he decided to confess everything to me, and to beg me to go and see that

she was well cared for, being sure, in spite of what had taken place in the past, that he would always find me ready to serve him in whatsoever he pleased. He drew aside my bed-curtains, therefore, and addressed me thus:—

"My dear, I have hidden something from you which I must now avow. I entreat you to pardon me, and to forget all I have previously said upon this subject, and to oblige me by getting up immediately and going to the assistance of Fosseuse, who is very ill. I feel sure that, out of pity for her condition, you will let bygones be bygones. You know how dearly I love her; I pray you, therefore, to do me this favor now."

I replied that I honored him too much to take anything amiss that came from him; that I would go to her and behave to her as though she had been my own daughter, and that, meanwhile, he must go upon a hunting expedition, and take all his suite away with him, so that no rumor of this might get abroad.

I then had Fosseuse promptly conveyed out of the maids' room and into a chamber apart, where my doctor and several women attended upon her, and where I saw her safely delivered. God willed that she should only give birth to a daughter, which, moreover, was still-born.

After her delivery, she was carried back to the maids' room, whence, in spite of using the greatest discretion, it was impossible to prevent the news from spreading all over the castle.

When the king my husband returned from hunting he went to see her, according to his custom. She besought him to induce me to go and see her—as I was accustomed to visit my maids whenever they were ill—thinking by this means to silence the rumors that were afloat.

Upon seeking my chamber, the king my husband found that I had gone to bed again, as I was tired with having arisen so early, and with all the trouble I had had whilst seeing that Fosseuse was properly attended to. He begged that I would get up and go to her.

I replied that I had been to her when she had had need of my assistance, but that now she no longer required it, and that, if I went to her, I should be calling attention to, instead

of concealing what had happened, and that everybody would point the finger of scorn at me.

He was extremely angry with me, which annoyed me very much, for I did not consider that I deserved such a reward as this after what I had done in the morning. She often incited him to get into these tempers against me.

Whilst we were upon these terms, the king, who ignored nothing of what went on in the houses of all the greatest personages in his realm, and who was particularly curious to know about the behavior of our court, having been informed of all this, and being still desirous of revenging himself upon me because (as I have already explained) of the fame my brother had acquired when he arranged the terms of the peace, imagined that this would be a favorable opportunity for making me as miserable as he wished by dragging me from the side of the king my husband, in the hope that a separation would prove like the breaking of the Macedonian battalion. To compass this end, he made the queen my mother write to me to say that she desired to see me, as a separation of five or six years from her was quite long enough, and that the time had now come when I ought to pay a visit to court, which would be to the advantage of both the king my husband and myself; moreover, that she knew that the king was anxious to see me, and that, if I had not the funds necessary for the journey, the king would arrange to provide me with them. The king wrote to me in the same strain, and sent Manniquet, his groom of the chamber, to me to persuade me to come, for, during the five or six years that I had been in Gascony, I had never been able to make up my mind to return to court. He found me now more disposed to follow his advice, because of the displeasure I felt on account of Fosseuse, of which he had been informed at court.

The king and queen sent me two or three letters, one after the other, and caused fifteen thousand crowns to be delivered to me so that I should not be delayed for want of the necessary funds, and the queen my mother informed me that she would come and meet me as far as Xaintonge, and that if the king my husband would conduct me thither, she would advise with him, and make known to him the king's pleasure. For the king was very anxious to withdraw him from Gas-

cony in order to keep him at court in the same position that he and my brother had occupied in former times, and the Mareschal de Matignon was persuading the king to this end, being desirous of obtaining the supreme command in Gascony.

All these fine appearances of goodwill did not deceive me as to the results which were to be expected from a return to court, as I had had too much experience of them in the past. I determined, however, to profit by his offers and to take my departure for only a few months, so that I might arrange my affairs and those of the king my husband, and I also thought that my going away would serve to turn the king my husband from his affection for Fosseuse—whom I was taking with me—and that, once she was out of his sight, he might possibly take up with somebody else who would be less hostile to me.

I had trouble enough to induce the king my husband to consent to my taking this journey, because it annoyed him that Fosseuse should go away after so much scandal had been set afloat concerning him.

He became much kinder to me in consequence, wishing very much to change my intention of returning to France. But, as I had already given my promise in my letters to the king and to the queen my mother, and had even received the before-mentioned sum for my journey, the evil fate which was luring me to court triumphed over the scant desire that I then felt to repair thither, just as the king my husband was beginning to treat me with more affection.

END OF MARGUERITE'S MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

DUKE DE SULLY

THE DUKE DE SULLY

CHIEF ADVISER AND CLOSEST FRIEND OF KING HENRY IV. OF FRANCE

1560-1641

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

Maximilian de Béthune, whose services to France won him the title of Duke de Sully by which he is commonly known, was one of his country's most successful leaders. He ranks next to Richelieu as a great minister, and far outranks him as a noble gentleman. Moreover Sully's close association with that most able and fascinating of French monarchs, Henry IV., lends a constant interest to every word he tells us of his mighty master.

Young Béthune was taken into Henry's service as a child when the King was only Henry of Navarre. The boy shared the dangers of his chief and of all the Huguenots in the awful massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572). During the dark years that followed he swiftly rose to be Henry's most trusted soldier and counselor; and when Henry became King of France, Béthune was made Duke of Sully and chief minister. Sully's active career ended with his beloved master's assassination in 1610. The new and gayer court leaders soon crowded out the stern and severely honest old Huguenot chief, and his closing years were spent in a stately and dignified retirement. These later years the Duke devoted to the composition of his celebrated memoirs. They rank among the most valuable and most valued treasures of French history.

The full title of Sully's memoirs is worth repeating as illustrating their spirit and that of their author. They are called "Memoirs of the Wise and Kingly Measures of State (*Économies d' État*), domestic, political and military of Henry the Great, the ideal King, Prince of all virtues, arms and laws, and the real father of the French people; and of the useful services, fitting obedience, and loyal administration of Maximilian de Béthune, one of the most trusted familiars, and useful soldiers and servitors of the great Mars of France."

From such a portentous work, we can not expect much that is intimately devoted to Sully himself. The memoirs cover several volumes and are mainly occupied with court politics rather than with the writer's

own life. As history they are far too one-sided to be strictly trustworthy. Moreover their cumbrous style makes many of their pages heavy reading. Sully originally composed them in the confusing method of having somebody else tell the narrative to him. That is to say, the manuscript represents the actual process employed in composition. Sully would narrate an incident to his secretaries; they would then write it down and read it to him in direct address, saying, "You then told His Majesty, etc." A part but not all of the work was afterward shifted from this intricate form into straightforward narrative.

Facing all these drawbacks to the memoirs, we are agreeably surprised to find they have yet, especially in their earlier pages, some very human and even fascinating pages. In the early section here offered to the reader the gay and daring world of King Henry's youth is made to live again. We feel to the full the splendid spirit which made this the wonder age of France, and made King Henry his nation's chosen hero of romance.

MEMOIRS OF MEASURES OF STATE

They flattered themselves at the court of Charles IX. that the miseries which befell the Protestants under the preceding reigns would at last oblige them either to submit to the King's will, or to leave the kingdom. The death of the Prince of Condé, their leader, the loss of two great battles, the utter dispersion of their soldiers, and the little probability of their being able to reanimate the feeble remainder of their troops, discouraged by a long train of misfortunes, all contributed to persuade them that the moment of their ruin approached. A courage superior to all events supported them in circumstances so distressful. They recalled their soldiers, who were scattered throughout the provinces, and who now began to draw together from Burgundy, Bourbon, and Berry. La Charité was named for the place of their general rendezvous; Vezelai and some other towns still holding out for them in that neighborhood. They had even the boldness to promise themselves they should spread the alarm as far as Paris as soon as they were reinforced by some considerable supplies of horse and foot that they expected from Germany.

This news gave great uneasiness to the Queen-Mother, Catherine de Medici; but she flattered herself that it would not be difficult to hinder their junction, and afterwards to

disperse the troops, which she supposed would be by that means thrown into a consternation. For this purpose she ordered a powerful army to march. Strozzy, La Chatré, Tavannes, La Valette, and all the general officers in France were desirous of serving in it; and the Maréchal de Coffé, who was to have the supreme command, suffered himself to be intoxicated with the glory he should acquire by extirpating even the last Huguenot soldier, and bringing the chiefs of the party bound hand and foot to the Queen-Mother; but he was soon undeceived; the Protestant army received him with great intrepidity; they were always the first to offer battle; in the skirmishes, which were frequent, the advantage was wholly on their side; and they even carried away a kind of victory at the encounter of Arnai-le-duc. So much obstinacy convinced the Queen-Mother that to ruin the Protestant party it would be necessary to have recourse to other measures than war. Treachery seemed to her the securest; and, in order to gain time to prepare for it, she listened so favorably to proposals for an accommodation that a peace was concluded when it was least expected, and upon conditions very advantageous for the Huguenots. This was the peace of 1570. After which, during the space of two years, each party tasted the sweets of a repose that had been equally desired by both.

My father retired to his house at Rosny and employed himself in settling his domestic affairs. As it is the history of my own life, jointly with that of the Prince whom I served, that will make the subject of these "Memoirs," it is necessary that I should give some account of my family and person. By satisfying the curiosity of the public in these particulars, I must entreat that neither vanity nor affectation be imputed to me, since a strict regard to truth is my only inducement for relating whatever may appear advantageous for me, either here, or in the succeeding parts of these "Memoirs."

Maximilian is my baptismal name, and Béthune that of my family, which derives its origin, by the house of Coucy, from the ancient house of Austria. We must not, however, confound it with that which is at present in possession of the empire of Germany and the two Spains. This last

is descended only from the Counts of Hapsburg and Quibourg, private gentlemen, who three hundred years since were in the pay of the cities of Strasburg, Basel, and Zurich, and who would have thought themselves highly honored by being stewards of the household to such a prince as the King of France; since Raoul, chief of this second house of Austria, held a like employment under Ottocar, King of Bohemia. It is from the son of this Raoul that the new stock of Austria properly begins, for he took the name of Austria instead of his own.

The house of Béthune (which has given its name to a city of Flanders, and from whence issued the counts that anciently governed that province) boasts of one Robert de Béthune, protector of the church of Arras, whose father and grandfather, bearing also the name of Robert, were declared protectors of the province of Artois. One of these two Roberts de Béthune signalized himself in France by the taking of La-Rochevandais, a fortress upon the confines of Auvergne, where the rebel Emerigot Marcel had retired; and the other in the wars of Sicily by killing with his own hand the tyrant Mainfroy, in the presence of two armies; a service which Charles of Anjou, the rival of Mainfroy, did not reward too highly by giving him his daughter Catherine to wife. They mention a fourth, Robert de Béthune, who gained a naval battle over the infidels in the Mediterranean. In the church, a James de Béthune, Bishop of Cambray, at the time of the Crusade of the Albigeois; and a John de Béthune, Abbot of Anchin near Valenciennes, who died in the year 1250, with the reputation of great sanctity, and whose bones are revered as those of a martyr. The history of the crusades has not forgotten those who distinguished themselves at the taking of Jerusalem by being the first that mounted the breach. Antony and Coësne de Béthune, emulating the glory of their ancestors, were also the first that fixed the standard upon the walls of Constantinople, when Baldwin, Count of Flanders, won this capital from Alexis Comnenus; and Coësne obtained the government of it.

Whoever has such domestic examples as these cannot recall them too often to his memory to animate himself to follow them. Happy, if, during the course of my life, my conduct

may be such that so many illustrious men disdain not to acknowledge me, nor I have occasion to blush that I am descended from them.

At length the house of Béthune, growing every day more illustrious, became allied to almost all the sovereign houses in Europe; it entered into that of Austria, and to conclude with what honored it infinitely more, the august house of Bourbon did not contemn its alliance.

But I must confess that the branch from which I am descended had then lost much of its first splendor. It was the issue of a younger brother, and the poorest of all who have borne this name. The eldest branch having three times fallen into the female line, all the great estates it possessed in different parts of Europe did not go to the collateral branches, but went with the daughters to the royal houses they married into.

My particular ancestors, by marrying advantageously, restored to their branch what it wanted to maintain, the dignity of its name; but all these riches were almost entirely dissipated by the prodigality and bad management of my grandfather, who left nothing to his son, my father, but the estate of Anne de Melun, his wife, which it was not in his power to deprive him of.

As for what relates to me personally: at the time of which I have been speaking, I entered into my eleventh year, being born the 13th of December, 1560. Although I was but the second of four sons, yet the natural imperfections of my eldest brother made my father look upon me as the future head of his family; all the indications of a strong and vigorous constitution recommending me still more to his favor. My parents bred me in the opinions and doctrine of the reformed religion, and I have continued constant in the profession of it; neither threatenings, promises, variety of events, nor the change even of the King, my protector, joined to his most tender solicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce it.

Henry, King of Navarre, who will have the principal share in these "Memoirs," was seven years older than I, and when the peace of 1570 was concluded entered into his eighteenth year. A countenance noble, open, and insinuating,

free, easy, and lively manners, with an uncommon dexterity in performing all the exercises suitable to his age, drew the esteem and admiration of all who knew him. He began early to discover those great talents for war which have so highly distinguished him among other princes. Vigorous and indefatigable by the education of his infancy, he breathed nothing but labor and seemed to wait with impatience for occasions of acquiring glory. . . .

From all this, my father conceived such strong apprehensions that when the report of the court of Navarre's journey to Paris first reached him, he could not give credit to it. Firmly pursuaded that the present calm would be of short continuance he made haste to take advantage of it, in order to shut himself up immediately with all his effects in Rochelle, when every one else talked of nothing but leaving it. The Queen of Navarre herself informed him more particularly of this design soon after, and requested him to join her on her way to Vendome. My father prepared to go; and being desirous of taking me with him, he ordered me, some days before his departure, to attend him in his chamber, and no one being present but La Durandiere, my preceptor, he thus spoke to me: "Maximilian, since custom does not permit me to make you the principal heir of my estates, to balance this disadvantage, I will endeavor to enrich you with virtues; by means of which, I hope, as hath been predicted to me, you will one day distinguish yourself. Prepare, therefore, to support with fortitude whatever difficulties you may meet with in the world, and by nobly surmounting them, procure the esteem of all good men, particularly that of the master to whom I am desirous of giving you, and in whose service I recommend to you to live and die. I am going to Vendome, to meet the Queen of Navarre, and the Prince, her son; dispose yourself to accompany me, and when I present you to him offer him your service; and, that you may express yourself gracefully, study a little speech for that purpose."

Accordingly I attended him to Vendome. He found there a general security and an air of satisfaction on every face, which in public he durst not object to; but whenever he had an opportunity of conversing in private, either with the

Queen, the Prince, the Admiral, the Counts Ludovic and Rochefoucauld, and the other Protestant lords, he very freely told them he was surprised that they had so soon forgotten the many occasions that had been given them for well-grounded apprehensions; that from a reconciled enemy, excessive promises and civilities were no less suspicious, and much more dangerous, than open menaces and declared hatred; that it was hazarding still more to expose a young Prince, too little guarded against the allurements of pleasure, to the attractions of the most voluptuous court in the world. He presented to them that instead of dreaming of an alliance so unhappy as that must necessarily be, between this Prince and a Princess who professed a different religion, they ought rather to have endeavored to marry him to the Queen of England, who might have assisted him in his attempts to recover the crown of Navarre, and possibly, as occasions offered, that of France likewise. He had so strong a foreboding of the fatal consequences of this French match that he often said if the nuptials were celebrated at Paris, the bridal favors would be crimson. This prudent advice was looked upon to be the effect of weakness and timidity.

My father, not willing to appear wiser than so many persons of more distinguished understandings, suffered himself, contrary to his opinion, to be driven with the torrent, and only demanded time to put himself into a condition of appearing with that splendor his rank required, in a court where everything was magnificent. For this purpose, he again took the road to Rosny; but before he went, he presented me to the Prince of Navarre, in the presence of the Queen, his mother, and, in my name, gave him assurances of an inviolable attachment; which I confirmed with great boldness, putting one knee to the ground. The Prince raised me immediately, and after twice embracing me had the goodness to commend the zeal which my family had always discovered for him, and, with that engaging air so natural to him, promised me his protection; a promise I at that time regarded as a mere effect of his complaisance, but which I have since seen accomplished far beyond my hopes and merit. I did not return with my father to Rosny, but went to Paris in the Queen of Navarre's train.

As soon as I arrived, sensible of the necessity my youth had of instruction, I applied myself closely to my studies, without neglecting, however, to make my court to the Prince, my master. I lived with a governor and *valet-de-chambre,* at a distance from the court, in a quarter of Paris where almost all the colleges stood, and continued there till the bloody catastrophe which happened a short time after.

Nothing could be more kind than the reception the Queen of Navarre, her children and principal servants met with from the King and Queen-Mother, nor more obliging than their treatment of them. Charles IX. was continually praising the virtues and good qualities of the Counts de Rochefoucauld, de Teligny, Gamache, my father, and other Protestant lords. The Admiral he always called father, and took upon himself the care of reconciling him with the Princes of the house of Guise. To him also he granted the pardon of Villandry, which he had denied to his own mother and his brothers, his crime being thought too great for forgiveness.

When the Admiral was wounded, the King, at the first news he heard of it, broke into oaths and threatenings, and declared that the assassin should be sought for in the most secret recesses of the palaces of the Guises. He made all the court, after his example, visit the wounded person, and when the Guises came to entreat that he would condescend to hear their justification, he gave them a very unfavorable reception. The Spanish ambassador was on this occasion so ill-treated that he thought fit to withdraw; nor could Pope Pius V. escape the resentment of Charles, he having refused to give the necessary dispensation for Henry's marriage with the Princess Margaret, for which the most magnificent preparations were then being made. The King carried his respect for this Prince so far as to dispense with his going into the church of Notre-Dame, and even with observing any of the Romish ceremonies. The Cardinal de Bourbon making some remonstrances upon these tolerations, which to him seemed to exceed all bounds, was dismissed with a severe reprimand; and when the Queen of Navarre died, the whole court appeared sensibly affected and went into deep mourning.

In a word, it is not passing too harsh a censure upon this

conduct of Catherine and her son, to call it an almost incredible prodigy of dissimulation; since a man of the Admiral de Coligny's great wisdom fell into the snare, notwithstanding a thousand circumstances concurred to make him apprehend the danger that was approaching: for it was loudly said that Genlis and La Nouë, who had been sent to the assistance of the Prince of Orange, were defeated with the connivance of the French court; which, whilst uncertain of success in the principal object of its dissimulation, was not willing to hazard all the consequences which that dissimulation might produce.

They were also informed of the conferences which the Queen-Mother and the principal ministers held with Cardinal Alexandrin, nephew of Pope Pius V. and with the Guises, who were twice discovered conversing in masks with the King, the Queen-Mother, the Duke de Retz, and the Chancellor de Birague; this was sufficient to show what they ought to think of their pretended disgrace. In the death of the Queen of Navarre, they perceived plain indications of poison. It never was doubted but that the wound the Admiral received came from the house of Villemur, preceptor to the Guises; and the assassin was met in his flight upon a horse belonging to the King's stable. Even the guards that Charles (under the pretense of securing the Admiral's person from the like attempts) placed about him were almost all his declared enemies; nor was it less certain that all the citizens of Paris were furnished with arms, which by the King's order they kept in their houses.

The most clear-sighted amongst the Huguenots, yielding to proofs so convincing, quited the court and Paris itself, or at least lodged in the suburbs. Of this number were Messrs. de Langorian, de Frontenay, the Viscount de Chartres, and many other gentlemen of Normandy and Poitou. Happily my father was one of those whose life was preserved by a wise and prudent distrust. When he was pressed to come nearer the court, he replied that he found the air of the suburbs agreed better with his constitution, and that of the fields was still more advantageous for it. When they were informed that the Bishop of Valence, in taking leave of the King for his embassy to Poland, had penetrated

into the secret and been indiscreet enough to reveal it to some of his friends, and that they had intercepted letters sent to Rome by the Cardinal d Pellevé, in which he unfolded the whole mystery to the Cardinal de Lorrain; it was then that these gentlemen renewed their entreaties to the King of Navarre that he would either leave Paris, or permit them to retire to their own houses. To this advice the Prince opposed that which had been given him by a great many other persons, and some even of the Protestant party; for where are not traitors to be found? They warned him to be cautious, they told him the names of all those who had been gained by the Queen-Mother to deceive him. He listened to nothing. The Admiral appeared no less incredulous. His bad destiny began by blinding him to lead him to his ruin. It would have been happy if he had acted with the same prudence that Maréchal de Montmorency did, who could never be drawn from Chantilly, notwithstanding repeated invitations from the King, who pressed him to come and partake his favor with the Admiral, and be near his person to assist him with his advice.

If I were inclined to increase the general horror, inspired by an action so barbarous as that perpetrated on the 24th of August, 1572, and too well known by the name of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, I should in this place enlarge upon the number, the quality, the virtues, and great talents of those who were inhumanly murdered on this horrible day, as well in Paris as in every part of the kingdom: I should mention at least the ignominious treatment, the fiend-like cruelty, and savage insults these miserable victims suffered from their butchers, and which in death were a thousand times more terrible than death itself.

I have writings still in my hands which would confirm the report of the court of France's having made the most pressing instances to the neighboring courts to follow its example with regard to the Protestants, or at least to refuse an asylum to those unfortunate people; but I prefer the honor of the nation to satisfying a malignant pleasure which many persons would take in lengthening out a recital, wherein might be found the names of those who were so lost to humanity as to dip their hands in the blood of their

fellow-citizens and even their own relations. I would, were it in my power, forever obliterate the memory of a day that divine vengeance made France groan for, by a continued succession of miseries, blood and horror, during six-and-twenty years; for it is not possible to judge otherwise, if one reflects on all that passed from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598. It is with regret that I cannot omit what happened upon this occasion to the Prince, who is the subject of these "Memoirs," and to myself.

I was in bed, and awakened from sleep three hours after midnight by the sound of all the bells and the confused cries of the populace. My governor, St. Julian, with my *valet-de-chambre,* went hastily out to know the cause, and I never afterwards heard more of these men, who without doubt were among the first that were sacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber dressing myself, when in a few moments I saw my landlord enter, pale, and in the utmost consternation. He was of the reformed religion, and, having learned what the matter was, had consented to go to mass to save his life and prevent his house from being pillaged. He came to persuade me to do the same and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him, but resolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I had studied; though the great distance between the house where I then was and the college made the attempt very dangerous.

Having disguised myself in a scholar's gown, I put a large prayer-book under my arm and went into the street. I was seized with horror inexpressible at the sight of the furious murderers, who running from all parts forced open the houses and cried aloud, "Kill, kill, massacre the Huguenots!" The blood which I saw shed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midst of a body of guards; they stopped me, interrogated me, and were beginning to use me ill, when, happily for me, the book that I carried was perceived and served me for a passport. Twice after this I fell into the same danger, from which I extricated myself with the same good fortune.

At last I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger still greater than any I had yet met with awaited

me. The porter having twice refused me entrance, I continued standing in the midst of the street, at the mercy of the furious murderers, whose numbers increased every moment, and who were evidently seeking for their prey, when it came into my mind to ask for La Faye, the principal of this college, a good man, by whom I was tenderly beloved. The porter, prevailed upon by some small pieces of money which I put into his hand, admitted me; and my friend carried me to his apartment, where two inhuman priests, whom I heard mention Sicilian vespers, wanted to force me from him that they might cut me in pieces, saying the order was, not to spare even infants at the breast. All the good man could do was to conduct me privately to a distant chamber, where he locked me up. Here I was confined three days, uncertain of my destiny, and saw no one but a servant of my friend, who came from time to time to bring me provisions.

At the end of these three days, the prohibition for murdering and pillaging any more of the Protestants being published, I was suffered to leave my cell; and immediately after I saw Ferriere and La Vieville, two soldiers of the guard, who were my father's creatures, enter the college. They were armed, and came, without doubt, to rescue me by force wherever they should find me. They gave my father a relation of what had happened to me; and eight days afterward I received a letter from him, in which he expressed the fears he had suffered on my account, and advised me to continue in Paris, since the Prince I served was not at liberty to quit it. He added, that to avoid exposing myself to an evident danger, it was necessary I should resolve to follow that Prince's example and go to mass.

In effect, the King of Navarre had found no other means of saving his life. He was awakened with the Prince of Condé two hours before day by a great number of soldiers, who rushed boldly into a chamber in the Louvre where they lay and insolently commanded them to dress themselves and attend the King. They would not suffer the two Princes to take their swords with them; who, as they passed, beheld several of their gentlemen massacred before their eyes. The King waited for them and received them with a countenance and eyes, in which fury was visibly painted; he ordered them,

with oaths and blasphemies, which were familiar with him, to quit a religion that had been only taken up, he said, to serve as a cloak to their rebellion. The condition to which these Princes were reduced could not hinder them from discovering that they should obey him with grief.

The King, transported with anger, told them, in a fierce and haughty tone that he would no longer be contradicted in his opinions by his subjects; that they, by their example, should teach others to revere him as the image of God, and cease to be enemies to the images of his mother. He ended by declaring that if they did not go to mass he would treat them as criminals guilty of treason against divine and human majesty. The manner in which these words were pronounced, not suffering the Princes to doubt if they were sincere, they yielded to necessity and performed what was required of them. Henry was even obliged to send an edict into his dominions, by which the exercise of any other religion but the Romish was forbidden. Though this submission preserved his life, yet in other things he was not better treated; and he suffered a thousand capricious insults from the court. Free by intervals, but more often closely confined, and treated as a criminal, his domestics were sometimes permitted to attend him, then all on a sudden not suffered to appear.

As for me, I employed this leisure in the most advantageous manner I was able. I had it no longer in my choice to prosecute my study of the learned languages, nor of whatever is called learning: this application, which my father had strongly recommended to me, became impracticable from the moment I lived in the court. It was with regret that I parted with an excellent preceptor to whose care he had entrusted my education; he himself perceiving he could be no longer useful to me, asked leave to retire. From his hands I passed into those of a man named Chrétien, whom the King of Navarre kept in his train, and who was ordered by him to teach me mathematics and history; two sciences which soon consoled me for those I renounced, because I felt an inclination for them, which I have ever since preserved.

The rest of my time was employed in learning to write and read well, and in performing all those exercises that give ease and gracefulness to the person. It was in these prin-

ciples, to which a still greater attention to form the manners was joined, that that method of educating youth consisted, which was known to be peculiar to the King of Navarre, for he himself had been brought up in that manner. I continued to follow it till I was sixteen years of age, when the situation of affairs threw both him and me into the tumult of arms, from which we had no hope of being freed. To these exercises those only that related to war succeeded, which I began by learning to shoot, and renounced all others. In such circumstances all that a young man can do is to improve his morals, if he cannot his genius; for even the hurry and confusion of arms offer excellent schools of virtue and politeness to him that is desirous of profiting by them. But miserable, and that during his whole life, is he who engages in a profession so fatal to youth, without having strength or inclination to resist bad examples, though he should have the good fortune to preserve himself from being tainted with any shameful vice, how will he be able to instruct and fortify his heart in these principles which wisdom dictates as well to a private man as to a prince, but by making virtue habitual by practice? So that any good action may never become painful, and that, if reduced to a necessity of saving all by a crime, or losing all by a virtuous action, he may find his duty and inclination the same. . . .

Henry, upon the conclusion of the peace, retired to Rochelle, where the inhabitants, except that they offered him no canopy, paid him all the honors they could have done to the King. The Catholics in this Prince's train did not meet with so favorable a reception. Caumont, afterwards Duke of Epernon, was not suffered to enter the city, nor any other whom they could prove had embrued his sword in the bloody slaughter of the 24th of August.

The King of Navarre stayed but a short time in this city. As soon as he demanded the accomplishment of the treaty, he became sensible of the great fault he had committed. The Queen-Mother denied she had promised anything to the Protestants, who were obliged to take up arms again before the expiration of the year.

I now quitted my first post. M. de Lavardin, my kinsman, who had a great affection for me, presented me with a pair

of colors in the company he commanded. I was appointed to defend Périgueux, and afterwards Villeneuve, in Agenois, which was threatened with a siege. The King of Navarre had a design to undertake some considerable enterprises, but the opportunity for them was lost; the greatest part of his troops, upon which he relied, disappointed him, and the rest were in so bad a condition that it was with difficulty he made two attempts, the one upon Réole, the other on St. Macary; in the last of which he failed. Favas, who conducted that of Réole, put me at the head of fifty soldiers, who entered in with very little danger. I demanded a like commission of Langoiran, to whom the assault of St. Macary was entrusted; he granted it, and joined my cousin Béthune with me; but Favas retained us in the second troop. This I mention as an instance of the first good fortune I met with in war; for the inhabitants of St. Macary, having had notice of our design, received us so well that not a man of the first troop who had courage to enter ever returned.

At the siege of Ville-Franche, in Périgord, which was afterwards carried on by Lavardin, I was exposed to a danger more considerable. During the assault, having mounted the wall with my colors, I was overthrown by the pikes and halberts into the ditch, where I lay sunk in the mud and so entangled with my colors that had it not been for the assistance of La Trape, my *valet-de-chambre*, and some soldiers who helped me to get up, I must infallibly have perished. The city being forced while they were parleying on the walls, it was given up to pillage. I gained a purse of a thousand crowns in gold for my share, which an old man, who was pursued by five or six soldiers, gave me to save his life.

The name of Ville-Franche recalls to my memory a very singular adventure that happened some time after. The inhabitants of this town having formed the design of seizing upon Montpazier, another little neighboring town, by surprise, they chose for the execution of it the very same night which the citizens of Montpazier had, without knowing anything of the matter, pitched upon to make themselves masters of Ville-Franche. Chance ordered it so that the parties, taking different ways, did not meet. All was executed with

so much the less difficulty, as the walls of both towns were wholly without defense. They pillaged, they glutted themselves with booty; each thought himself happy till day appeared and discovered the mistake. They then came to a composition, everything was restored to its right owner, and they returned to their respective habitations. Such was the manner of making war in those times; it consisted of seizing by artifice the towns and castles of the enemy, though often those attempts produced very bloody engagements.

It must be confessed, however, that the King of Navarre was very indifferently served. His army was almost equally composed of Protestants and Catholics, and he often said that his obligations were greatest to the latter, for they served him disinterestedly and through pure attachment to his person; but it was this medley of Catholics and Protestants that ruined his affairs. Messrs. de Turenne, de Montgomery, de Guitry, de Lusignon, de Favas, de Pardaillan, and other principal Protestants had an invincible aversion to Messrs. de Lavardin, de Moissens, de Grammont, de Duras, de Saint Colombe, de Roquelaure, de Bogole, de Podins, and other Catholic officers. This appeared, among other occasions, in an affair where I was concerned. An officer named Frontenac, having treated me contemptuously on account of my youth, added that the milk was not out of my nose. I replied that I found myself strong enough to draw blood from his with my sword. This quarrel made a noise; and what was very extraordinary, though my antagonist was a Catholic, and myself a Protestant, yet the Viscount of Turenne promised him his assistance and that of his Protestant friends against me; which M. de Lavardin being informed of, he and his Catholics offered their services to me. The Viscount's hatred to me proceeded from my having taken Langoiran's part (to whom I was obliged) in a quarrel he had with that nobleman. M. de Turenne expected that wherever he and Langoiran were together, the latter should receive orders from him as his general. Langoiran, who thought his birth equal to Turenne's, made a jest of his pretensions; and adding some strokes of raillery, spoke of Turenne as a bigot who came over to the reformed only because Buffy had supplanted him in Monsieur's favor. When the quarrel was

composed I was advised to seek the friendship of Turenne. I complied, but he answered my first advances so ill that I drew back and we continued at a greater distance than ever.

This animosity between the parties gave rise to an opposition in the King of Navarre's councils which blasted many of his designs, and in particular that upon Marmande. Lavardin having attacked it, contrary to the advice of La Nouë, and even of the King of Navarre himself, he caused several bodies of a hundred arquebusiers each to advance with orders to possess themselves of the hollows and other advantageous parts near the walls of this city. The command of one of these bodies was given to me, and scarce had I posted myself at about two hundred paces distant from the city when I was attacked by a detachment of the besieged three times superior to mine in number. I entrenched my men, and being favored by some houses, we defended ourselves a long time. The King of Navarre, who saw the danger to which we were exposed, ran to us, covered only with a cuirass, fought the whole day, and gave us time to seize the destined posts; but they were of little use to us, as we had not enough men to surround the city on all sides; and the King of Navarre would have had the mortification of not being able to approach it, and of being under a necessity of shamefully raising the siege, had not the arrival of the Maréchal de Biron with proposals for an accommodation furnished him with an honorable pretense for withdrawing his troops.

A truce could only be agreed upon, during which the King of Navarre went to Bearn, to visit the Princess, his sister, or rather the young Tignonville, with whom he was in love. I was permitted to accompany him; and giving back my ensign's commission to M. de Lavardin, who bestowed it upon young Béthune, my cousin, I quitted my equipage of war and took one more suitable to the character I was to appear in. My economy during three or four years, joined to my military profits, made my finances so considerable that I saw myself now in a condition to entertain several gentlemen in my pay, with whom I attached myself solely to the person of the King. As I had no inclination to descend from this station, I regulated my domestic affairs in such a man-

ner that the King of Navarre, who was always attentive to the conduct of his officers, confessed to me afterwards that I owed the greatest part of that esteem with which he honored me to the prudent economy he observed in this disposition of my affairs. It was my youth only that made this conduct appear extraordinary, for I began early to be sensible of what advantage it is to preserve an exact regularity in domestic concerns. Such a propensity, in my opinion, is a very happy presage, either for a soldier or a statesman.

During our stay at Bearn, nothing was thought of but diversions and gallantry. The taste which Madame, the King's sister, had for amusements, proved an inexhaustible source of them to us. Of this Princess I learned the trade of a courtier, which I was yet unacquainted with. She had the goodness to make me one in all her parties, and I remember she would teach me herself the steps of a dance in a ballet that was performed with the greatest magnificence.

The truce was now almost expired, and the King of Navarre, who had been informed that the city Eause, excited by the mutineers, had refused to give entrance to a garrison he sent thither, ordered us to come, with our arms concealed under our hunting-habits, to a certain part of the country, where he himself waited for us. He arrived at the gates of this city before they could be advised of his march, and entered it, without meeting any resistance, at the head of fifteen or sixteen of his men who had followed him closer than the rest of his troop. As soon as the mutineers perceived this, they called out to have the drawbridge instantly let down; which was accordingly done, and fell almost upon the buttocks of my horse and Béthune's, so that we were separated from the body, which remained without the city. The rebels at the same time rang the alarm-bell, and arming hastily a band of fifty soldiers came thundering upon us. Among these we distinguished three or four voices, which cried, "Fire upon that scarlet cloak and white plume, for it is the King of Navarre!" "My friends, my companions," said this Prince, turning towards us, "it is here that you must show courage and resolution, for our safety depends upon what we now act; follow me then, and do as I do, without firing your pistols." As he ended these

words, he marched fiercely up to the mutineers with his pistol in his hand. They could not sustain the shock and were soon dispersed; three or four small bodies of men presented themselves afterwards, and these also we drove before us; but the enemy drawing together, to the number of two hundred, and our forces being greatly diminished, the danger became inevitable. The King retired to the gate, which facilitated his defense, and there he kept firm. He had the presence of mind to order two of us to climb up upon the belfry, and make a sign to our companions, who continued in the field, to advance and force the gate. This they performed with the more ease, as very fortunately the bridge had not been drawn up.

Those of the citizens who were well affected to the King, but had been forced by the seditious into their measures, perceiving the soldiers upon the point of entering the city, attacked the rebels behind. These last defended themselves till the gate being forced, the city was filled with our troops. All would have been put to the sword, and even the city abandoned to pillage, had not the principal inhabitants, with their consuls at their head, thrown themselves at the King's feet, and implored his pardon. He granted it, and contented himself with punishing only those four persons who had fired upon the white plume.

The King of Navarre, leaving Béthune governor in Eause, advanced hastily towards Mirande, upon advice that St. Criq, a Catholic gentleman of his party, had possessed himself of the city; but, not having men enough to keep it, had been obliged to throw himself with his troops into the tower, where he was besieged and hard pressed by the citizens and garrison of the place. Notwithstanding the King marched with all possible diligence, he could not prevent the unhappy fate of this officer, who had just been taken and burnt with all his men, when Henry appeared before the walls of Mirande. The inhabitants, who thought to draw him into their power, artfully concealed what had happened, and made the trumpets sound as if St. Criq was rejoicing for the assistance they brought him; when a Huguenot soldier in the city, perceiving the danger into which the King of Navarre was going to precipitate himself, together

with all his men, who must infallibly have perished through the great superiority of the enemies' numbers, came over the wall to inform him of the snare that was laid for him. The King now thought of nothing but retreating; but as he was very far advanced, the inhabitants of Mirande soon perceived that their design was prevented, and sallying out attacked him in his retreat.

Myself and young Béthune, having engaged too far amidst the enemy, were surrounded on all sides; despair added to our strength, and we fought like men who were resolved to sell their lives dear; but we should certainly have been overpowered, extreme weariness making it hardly possible for us to use our arms any longer, when happily for us, Lesigna and the elder Béthune, whom the King of Navarre had sent to our assistance, charged the enemy so fiercely that they gave back and afforded us the means of retreating. The Sieur D'Yvetot, a gentleman of Normandy, and La Trape, my *valet-de-chambre,* did me great service upon this occasion.

I should swell these "Memoirs" too much, were I to enter into a detail of all the medley of politics and gallantry of this time; and, to confess the truth, my youth and other affairs more suitable to my inclinations did not permit me to engage in the first; as for gallantry, besides that I have lost the remembrance of it, a trifling detail of intrigues would, in my opinion, make a very indifferent figure here. It is sufficient to say that all was reduced to a desire of pleasing and supplanting each other. I shall not, however, omit some adventures relating to the war.

The Queen-Mother and the King of Navarre could only agree upon a truce, which was to be in force over the whole kingdom till the Prince and she separated: but, whether she thought that war would afford her a more favorable opportunity of seizing several towns by surprise and artifice, or that this method was more likely to accomplish her views, she was not sorry that both parties seemed to forget that they were in peace, and treated each other as enemies. It was now resolved that there should only be a truce where the court was, and not to extend beyond a league and a half, or two leagues, from the place where

the Queen and the Princes resided. This gave rise to a contrast altogether new. Here they loaded each other with civilities and conversed with the greatest familiarity; there they fought with the utmost fury and animosity.

The two courts being at Auch upon a ball night, news was brought to the King of Navarre that the Governor of Réole, who was an old man and a zealous Protestant, having conceived a violent passion for one of the Queen-Mother's maids of honor, had been prevailed upon to violate his duty and deliver up the town to the Catholics. The King of Navarre, who would not long defer his revenge, privately ordered me and three or four others to withdraw and, with our arms concealed under our hunting-habits, join him in the fields. We got together as many of our people as we could; and, taking care that the entertainment should suffer no interruption, left the hall and joined the King, with whom we marched all night; and arriving early in the morning at Fleurence, the gates of which were open, seized it without opposition. The Queen-Mother, who could have sworn that the King of Navarre had lain at Auch, was greatly surprised next morning with the news of this expedition; however, she was the first to laugh at it: "I see," said she, "this is in revenge for Réole; the King of Navarre was resolved to have nut for nut, but mine has the better kernel."

An adventure of the same kind happened a short time after. When the court was at Coutras, the King of Navarre having resolved to seize St. Emilion, he sent us over night to St. Foi, which was not comprehended in the truce, from whence we marched to St. Emilion, with a petard, which we fastened by two port-holes to a great tower. The bursting of this machine made a noise that was heard even at Coutras. A breach was made in the tower wide enough to admit two men abreast, and by this means the town was taken. The Queen-Mother was enraged, and said openly that she looked upon this action as a premeditated insult, St. Emilion being within the bounds of the truce. It is certain, that the distance between Coutras and this town was such as rendered the case a little doubtful; but the King of Navarre, who knew that a few days before the citizens

of St. Emilion had pillaged a Protestant merchant, which the Queen-Mother maintained to be a lawful prize, justified what he had done by this fact, and all was passed over.

It often happened that the two courts separated from each other when anything fell out to give either of them disgust; but the desire of pleasure, which languished while they were divided, soon brought them together again. The Queen-Mother's court was carried by the King of Navarre to Foix, where, among other diversions, he was resolved to give them that of bear-hunting. The ladies were frightened; this entertainment did not suit with their delicacy. Some of these animals tore the horses to pieces; others overthrew ten Swiss and as many fusileers; and one of them, mounting upon a rock, threw himself down headlong, with seven or eight hunters, whom he held fast in his paws and crushed them to pieces.

The war being now begun by the Huguenots, they made about forty attempts on different places, of which three only succeeded. These were Fere in Picardy, Montagu in Poitou, and Cahors. At this last I was present, for which reason, as well as that of all the towns attacked by petard and undermining, this was the most remarkable, I shall give some account of it.

Cahors is a large and populous city, surrounded on three sides by water. Vesins, who was governor of it, had above two thousand men, besides a hundred horse, under his command; and he obliged the citizens also to take arms. He kept himself upon his guard like a man who expected to be attacked; which we discovered by a paper found in his cabinet, on which he had written these few words with his own hand, "A fig for the Huguenots."

The King of Navarre, whose little army was weakened by the absence of Chouppes and who saw no means of opening himself a passage but by petard and undermining, did not, however, despair of taking the city. He reënforced his troops with all the soldiers he could find in Montauban, Négrepelisse, St. Antonin, Cajare, and Senevieres; but the whole did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men, with whom he left Montauban, and arrived about midnight within a quarter of a league of Cahors. It was in the month of

June, the weather extremely hot, with violent thunder, but no rain. He ordered us to halt in a plantation of walnut-trees, where a fountain of running-water afforded us some refreshment. Here he settled the order of his march and of the whole attack. Two petarders belonging to the Viscount Gourdon, the chief contriver of this enterprise, followed by ten of the bravest soldiers in the King's guards, marched before us, to open a passage into the city. They were sustained by twenty others, and thirty horse of the King's guards likewise, under the conduct of St. Martin, their captain, forty gentlemen, commanded by Roquelaure and sixty soldiers of the guard composed another body, in which I was, and marched afterwards. The King of Navarre, at the head of two hundred men divided into four bands came next; the remainder of his little army, which made a body of about one thousand or twelve hundred arquebusiers in six platoons, closed the march.

We had three gates to force; these we made haste to throw down with the petard, after which we made use of hatchets. The breaches were so low that the first who entered were obliged to creep through upon their hands and feet. At the noise of the petard, forty men armed, and about two hundred arquebusiers, ran almost naked to dispute our entry; meantime the bells rang the alarm, to warn everybody to stand to their defense. In a moment the houses were covered with soldiers, who threw large pieces of wood, tiles and stones upon us, with repeated cries of "Charge, kill them." We soon found that they were resolved to receive us boldly; it was necessary, therefore, at first, to sustain an encounter, which lasted above a quarter of an hour and was very terrible. I was cast to the ground by a large stone that was thrown out of a window; but by the assistance of the Sieur de la Bertichere and La Trape, my *valet-de-chambre,* I recovered, and resumed my post. All this time we advanced very little, for fresh platoons immediately succeeded those that fled before us; so that before we gained the great square, we had endured more than twelve battles. My cuisses being loosened, I was wounded in the left thigh. At last we got to the square, which we found barricaded, and with infinite labor we demolished those

works, being all the time exposed to the continual discharge of the artillery, which the enemy had formed into a battery.

The King of Navarre continued at the head of his troops during all these attacks; he had two pikes broken, and his armor was battered in several places by the fire and blows of the enemy. We had already performed enough to have gained a great victory; but so much remained to do that the battle seemed only to be just begun; the city being of large extent and filled with so great a number of soldiers that we in comparison with them were but a handful. At every cross-way we had a new combat to sustain and every stone-house we were obliged to storm; each inch of ground was so well defended that the King of Navarre had occasion for all his men, and we had not a moment's leisure to take breath.

It is hardly credible that we could endure this violent exercise for five whole days and nights, during which time not one of us durst quit his post for a single moment, take any nourishment but with his arms in his hand; or sleep, except for a few moments, leaning against the shops. Fatigue, faintness, the weight of our arms, and the excessive heat, joined to the pain of our wounds, deprived us of the little remainder of our strength; our feet scorched with heat and bleeding in many places gave us agonies impossible to be expressed.

The citizens, who suffered none of these inconveniences and who became every minute more sensible of the smallness of our numbers, far from surrendering, thought of nothing but protracting the fight till the arrival of some succor, which they said was very near. They sent forth great cries and animated each other by our obstinacy. Though their defense was weak, yet they did enough to oblige us to keep upon our guard, which completed our misfortunes. In this extremity, the principal officers went to the King and advised him to assemble as many men as he could about his person and open himself a retreat. They redoubled their instances at the report which was spread, and which they found to be true, that the succor expected by the enemy was arrived at the bar and would be so soon in the city that he would have but just time to force the wall, and secure

himself a passage. But this brave Prince, whose courage nothing was ever able to suppress, turning toward them with a smiling countenance and air so intrepid as might have inspired courage into the most pusillanimous heart. "It is Heaven," said he, "which dictates what I ought to do upon this occasion; remember then, that my retreat out of this city, without having secured one also to my party, shall be the retreat of my soul from my body. My honor requires this of me; speak, therefore, to me of nothing but fighting, conquest, or death."

Animated by these words and the example of so brave a leader, we began to make new efforts; but in all probability we should at last have been wholly defeated but for the arrival of Chouppes, whom the King had the precaution to send for before the attack. He, having understood the danger Henry was in, opened himself a passage into the city with five or six hundred foot and a hundred horse, trampling over the enemy as he passed, who gathered in crowds to obstruct his way. As soon as he joined us, we marched together to the bar, where the enemy's succor was endeavoring to enter. All this quarter we forced, and when we had made ourselves masters of the parapets and towers it was not difficult to oblige the enemies without to abandon their enterprise and retreat; after which, the inhabitants finding themselves no longer able to resist, laid down their arms, and the city was given up to plunder. My good fortune threw a small iron chest in my way, in which I found about four thousand crowns. In the relation of an action so hot, so long, and so glorious for the young Prince that conducted it, I am obliged to suppress many circumstances and many particular exploits performed by the King and his officers which would have the appearance of being fabulous. . . .

The King of Navarre did not, however, neglect to make himself master of Monsegur. Milon, one of his captains, enclosed five hundred weight of powder in a saucisse, which he found means to introduce into a common shore which ran into a ditch between the two principal gates; the end of the saucisse, to which the fire was to be applied, was concealed amongst the grass. When everything was ready for the playing off this machine, the King permitted us to go

and see the effect, which indeed was wonderful. One of the two gates was thrown into the midst of the city, and the other fifty paces forwards into the field. The vaults were all ruined, and a breach being made in the walls, wide enough to admit three men abreast, the city was taken. The enemy seeming determined to recover it, the King commanded me to shut myself up in it with forty gentlemen. We applied ourselves to fortifying the place well with palisades and intrenchments in the place of those the powder had destroyed; and this we performed without interruption, notwithstanding we were all afflicted with a kind of epidemical distemper, and myself more than any other. At length we put the place into such a condition that we had nothing to apprehend from the enemy; after which I returned to the King of Navarre, who, by the caresses with which he loaded me on this occasion, was desirous of teaching me to make a just distinction between military exploits that are authorized by duty and those which a rash and misguided courage suggests.

It was with pleasure that I saw this Prince's favor towards me increase every day, and to find that he gave to inclination what he believed he had granted only to his mother's recommendation; who, when dying, pressed him to take care of my fortune. Some slight services I did him this year he rewarded by the post of counselor of Navarre, and chamberlain in ordinary, with a pension of two thousand livres, which at that time was thought very considerable. I was then but nineteen years of age, and the fire of youth drew me into a fault which had like to have made me lose forever the favor of this Prince.

I was at supper one night with Beauvais, the son of the King of Navarre's governor, and an officer named Usseau, who, happening to quarrel, resolved to fight, and entreated me to provide them with the means. Instead of immediately acquainting the King of Navarre with their design, that Prince being very solicitous to prevent this sort of combats, which a false sense of honor made very frequent at that time, I was imprudent enough to promise to comply; and after having in vain endeavored to reconcile them conducted them myself to the meadow where they fought, and each

received a very dangerous wound. The King of Navarre, who loved Beauvais, was extremely offended with me for the part I had acted in this affair. He ordered me to be sent for, and told me in a rage that I insulted the authority of the sovereign, even in his own court, and that, were strict justice to be done on me, I should lose my head.

Instead of repairing my fault by an ingenuous confession of it, I added another still greater. Piqued at the Prince's threatening, I answered haughtily that I was neither his subject nor his vassal; and threatened him, in my turn, with quitting his service. The King discovered no other resentment for this insolence than a contemptuous silence. I went out of his presence with an intention to leave this good Prince, and perhaps forever, had not the Princesses undertaken to make my peace with the King, who listening only to the dictates of his friendship for me contented himself with punishing me no otherwise for my fault than by treating me during some time with great coldness. At length, when he was convinced of the sincerity of my repentance, he resumed his former sentiments. This instance of his goodness made me know in what manner so worthy a Prince ought to be served. I attached myself to him more strongly than before, resolving from that moment never to have any other master; but I saw myself removed from him for some time, by an imprudent promise which I had made to the duke of Alençon.

THE END

SIR FRANCIS BACON

BACON'S APPEAL

To the King.—It may please your most excellent Majesty, in the midst of my misery, which is rather enlarged by re-

SIR FRANCIS BACON

THE FOREMOST PHILOSOPHER, SCIENTIST AND STATESMAN OF HIS AGE

1561-1626

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

The personal character of Sir Francis Bacon, commonly called Lord Bacon, has been much disputed. The poet Pope called him "the wisest, greatest, meanest of mankind." He was the favorite minister of King James I of England; and the favorite of an autocratic and ignoble monarch must almost of necessity be a flatterer and trickster. Yet on the other hand the services of Bacon to both science and philosophy were so tremendous, his writings reveal so much of earnest profundity, that thoughtful minds have ever been unwilling to dismiss him with an easy scorn. Perhaps the fairest course is to let the court-bred old philosopher speak for himself as he does in the celebrated appeal to his King here given. In this Bacon seeks to explain and justify himself.

The circumstances which produced this address were as follows: Bacon, after a long career as Lord Chancellor and chief advisor to King James, was attacked by Parliament in the first of the long series of quarrels between King and Parliament which led up to England's great Civil War. The Parliament sought in several ways to impeach Bacon, and finally in 1621 tried and condemned him on the charge of accepting bribes. That he had received presents from litigants who brought cases before him is unquestioned; but this had been the common practice in England for centuries. Parliament was really striking at the King rather than at the Chancellor. Bacon was dismissed from office and was imprisoned "during the King's pleasure"; but King James very soon freed him and granted him a considerable pension. In his appeal Bacon urges that he be again publicly employed in office; but this was more than his timid sovereign ever dared venture. The great Chancellor died in retirement—busied to the last with scientific experiments.

BACON'S APPEAL

To THE KING,—It may please your most excellent Majesty, in the midst of my misery, which is rather assuaged by re-

membrance than by hope, my chiefest worldly comfort is to think, that, since the time I had the first vote of the Commons House of Parliament for Commissioner of the Union, until the time that I was, by this last Parliament, chosen by both Houses for their messenger to your Majesty in the petition of religion (which two were my first and last services), I was evermore so happy as to have my poor services graciously accepted by your Majesty, and likewise not to have had any of them miscarry in my hands; neither of which points I can anywise take to myself, but ascribe the former to your Majesty's goodness, and the latter to your prudent directions, which I was ever careful to have and keep. For, as I have often said to your Majesty, I was towards you but as a bucket and cistern, to draw forth and conserve, whereas yourself was the fountain.

Unto this comfort of nineteen years' prosperity, there suceeded a comfort even in my greatest adversity, somewhat of the same nature, which is that, in those offenses wherewith I was charged, there was not any one that had special relation to your Majesty, or any your particular commandments. For as towards Almighty God there are offenses against the first and second table, and yet all against God; so with the servants of kings, there are offenses more immediate against the sovereign, although all offenses against law are also against the king. Unto which comfort there is added this circumstance, that as my faults were not against your Majesty, otherwise than as all faults are; so my fall was not your Majesty's act, otherwise than as all acts of justice are yours. This I write not to insinuate with your Majesty, but as a most humble appeal to your Majesty's gracious remembrance, how honest and direct you have ever found me in your service, whereby I have an assured belief that there is in your Majesty's own princely thoughts a great deal of serenity and clearness towards me, your Majesty's now prostrate and cast-down servant.

Neither, my most gracious sovereign, do I, by this mention of my former services, lay claim to your princely graces and bounty, though the privilege of calamity doth bear that form of petition. I know well, had they been much more, they had been but by bounden duty: nay, I must also con-

fess, that they were, from time to time, far above my merit, over and superrewarded by your Majesty's benefits, which you heaped upon me. Your Majesty was and is that master to me that raised and advanced me nine times, thrice in dignity, and six times in offices. The places were indeed the painfullest of all your services; but then they had both honor and profits; and the then profits might have maintained my now honors, if I had been wise; neither was your Majesty's immediate liberality wanting towards me in some gifts, if I may hold them. All this I do most thankfully acknowledge; and do herewith conclude, that for anything arising from myself to move your eye of pity towards me, there is much more in my present misery than in my past services; save that the same, your Majesty's goodness, that may give relief to the one, may give value to the other.

And indeed, if it may please your Majesty, this theme of my misery is so plentiful as it need not be coupled with anything else. I have been somebody by your Majesty's singular and undeserved favor, even the prime officer of your kingdom. Your Majesty's arm hath often been laid over mine in council when you presided at the table; so near was I! I have borne your Majesty's image in metal, much more in my heart. I was never, in nineteen years' service, chidden by your Majesty; but, contrariwise, often overjoyed when your Majesty would sometimes say, I was a good husband for you, though none for myself; sometimes, that I had a way to deal in business *fauvibus modis,* which was the way which was most according to your own heart; and other most gracious speeches of affection and trust, which I feed on to this day. But why should I speak of these things which are now vanished but only the better to express my downfall?

For now it is thus with me: I am a year and a half[1] old in misery; though, I must ever acknowledge, not without some mixture of your Majesty's grace and mercy, for I do not think it possible that any one, whom you once loved, should be totally miserable. Mine own means, through my own improvidence, are poor and weak, little better than my father left me. The poor things that I have had from your

[1] Therefore this was written near the middle of the year 1622.

Majesty are either in question or at courtesy. My dignities remain marks of your past favor, but burdens of my present fortune. The poor remnants which I had of my former fortunes, in plate or jewels, I have spread upon poor men unto whom I owed, scarce leaving myself a convenient subsistence; so as to conclude, I must pour out my misery before your Majesty, so far as to say, *Si tu deferis, perimus.*

But as I can offer to your Majesty's compassion little arising from myself to move you, except it be my extreme misery, which I have truly opened; so looking up to your Majesty's own self, I should think I committed Cain's fault if I should despair. Your Majesty is a king, whose heart is as inscrutable for secret motions of goodness as for depth of wisdom. You are, Creator-like, factive, not destructive; you are the prince in whom hath ever been noted an aversion against anything that savored of an hard heart; as on the other side, your princely eye was wont to meet with any motion that was made on the relieving part. Therefore, as one that hath had the happiness to know your Majesty near-hand, I have, most gracious sovereign, faith enough for a miracle, and much more for a grace, that your Majesty will not suffer your poor creature to be utterly defaced, nor blot that name quite out of your book, upon which your sacred hand hath been so oft for the giving him new ornaments and additions.

Unto this degree of compassion, I hope God (of whose mercy towards me, both in my prosperity and adversity, I have had great testimonies and pledges, though mine own manifold and wretched unthankfulness might have averted them) will dispose your princely heart, already prepared to all piety you shall do for me. And as all commiserable persons (especially such as find their hearts void of all malice) are apt to think that all men pity them, so I assure myself that the lords of your council, who, out of their wisdom and nobleness, cannot but be sensible of human events, will, in this way which I go, for the relief of my estate, further and advance your Majesty's goodness towards me; for there is, as I conceive, a kind of fraternity between great men that are, and those that have been, being but the several tenses of one verb. Nay, I do further pre-

sume, that both Houses of Parliament will love their justice the better if it end not in my ruin; for I have been often told, by many of my lords, as it were in the way of excusing the severity of the sentence, that they knew they left me in good hands. And your Majesty knoweth well I have been all my life long acceptable to those assemblies; not by flattery, but by moderation, and by honest expressing of a desire to have all things go fairly and well.

But if it may please your Majesty (for saints I shall give them reverence, but no adoration; my address is to your Majesty, the fountain of goodness), your Majesty shall, by the grace of God, not feel that in gift, which I shall extremely feel in help; for my desires are moderate, and my courses measured to a life orderly and reserved, hoping still to do your Majesty honor in my way; only I most humbly beseech your Majesty to give me leave to conclude with these words, which necessity speaketh. Help me, dear sovereign, lord and master, and pity so far, as that I, that have borne a bag, be not now in my age forced, in effect, to bear a wallet; nor that I, that desire to live to study, may not be driven to study to live. I most humbly crave pardon of a long letter, after a long silence. God of heaven ever bless, preserve, and prosper your Majesty. Your Majesty's poor ancient servant and beadsman,

FR. BACON.

DE
VERITATE

LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY

LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY

CALLED "THE BLACK LORD HERBERT." FOP, PHILOSOPHER AND STATESMAN

1583-1648

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

Of this autobiography Horace Walpole declared it was "the most curious and entertaining book in the world" and that when reading it aloud with Gray, the poet, they "could not get on for laughing and screaming." Your sense of the ridiculous may not be aroused to this pitch, but you will be vastly amused at the vainglorious recital of his life given by this illustrious contemporary of Shakespeare and Bacon. If vanity can be reckoned among our comforts, as Franklin suggests, then it may be said that Lord Cherbury made of the quality not only a comfort, but a luxury. He takes our breath away with his naïve flattery of himself, especially in the rôle of courtier and politician. Born to the purple, he never forgets it, and never permits us to lose sight of his superiority. Queen Elizabeth, he tells us, patted him on the cheek, admiring his manly beauty. Henry IV of France "embraced him in his arms, and held him some while there." James I and his queen, Anne, made much of him. He was the favorite with the great Duke of Buckingham. Margaret of Valois sat him next her at table and he was "the wonder and envy of the assembled company." Briefly, he was admired and beloved to excess.

Being the very pink of perfection as courtier and politician, he was according to the standard set a redoubtable and invincible swordsman. At every opportunity he was ready to settle differences with his sure blade. Even Cellini himself was not more ready to resort to steel, and was not more of a braggart in his prowess. The singular anomaly is that Lord Herbert evidently thought his social graces and political genius the greater part of him, while as a matter of fact it is his literary and philosophic gifts that entitle him to remembrance. His truly valuable contributions to poetry, history, and philosophy he passes by in contemptuous silence. As a poet, Lord Herbert proves himself the ablest of all the disciples of Donne, and his "De Veritate," a philo-

sophic work, is an original and remarkable production. Ben Jonson eulogized him in the following lines:

> "If men get name for some one virtue, then
> What man art thou, that art so many men,
> All-virtuous Herbert! on whose every part
> Truth might spend all her voice, Fame all her art?
> Whether thy learning they would take or wit,
> Or valor, or thy judgment seasoning it,
> Thy standing upright to thyself, thy ends
> Like straight, thy piety to God and friends:
> Their latter praise would still the greatest be,
> And yet they, all together, less than thee."

The autobiography ends abruptly in the year 1624, and records a triumphal progress wherein the narrator shines resplendent at every turn. But, alas, his after years were a dreary series of disasters. His letters and papers, however, scattered through these melancholy years, do not betray any ebb of his overweening self-conceit. Ignoring his ignominy, he repeatedly petitioned James I and afterwards Charles I for restitution and various emoluments; but royal recognition was not forthcoming. It was said that he saved his property at the expense of his honor. His declining years lacked all the glamour and glory of his youth and prime, and both Parliamentarian and Royalist combined to christen him on his death-bed "the black Lord Herbert."

Contradictory and inconsistent as the character of Lord Herbert of Cherbury may appear, we must remember he was a representative child of his age, when greatness allied itself with littleness, virtue with vice, to a striking degree, and in this enigmatical mixture he was brother to such men as Bacon and Raleigh.

THE LIFE OF EDWARD, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY

I DO believe that, if all my ancestors had set down their lives in writing and left them to posterity, many documents necessary to be known of those who, both participate of [sharing] their natural inclinations and humors, must in all probability run a not much different course, might have been given for their instruction; and certainly it will be found much better for men to guide themselves by such observations as their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather might have delivered to them, than by those vulgar rules and examples, which cannot in all points so exactly agree unto them. Therefore, whether their life were private and contained only precepts necessary to treat with their children, servants,

tenants, kinsmen, and neighbors, or employed abroad in the university, or study of the law, or in the court, or in the camp, their heirs might have benefited themselves more by them than by any else; for which reason I have thought fit to relate to my posterity those passages of my life, which I conceive may best declare me, and be most useful to them. In the delivery of which, I profess to write with all truth and sincerity, as scorning ever to deceive or speak false to any; and therefore detesting it much more where I am under obligation of speaking to those so near me: and if this be one reason for taking my pen in hand at this time, so as my age is now past threescore, it will be fit to recollect my former actions, and examine what had been done well or ill, to the intent I may both reform that which was amiss, and so make my peace with God, as also comfort myself in those things which, through God's great grace and favor, have been done according to the rules of conscience, virtue, and honor.

Before yet I bring myself to this account, it will be necessary I say somewhat concerning my ancestors, as far as the notice of them is come to me in any credible way; of whom yet I cannot say much, since I was but eight years old when my grandfather died, and that my father lived but about four years after; and that for the rest I have lived for the most part from home, it is impossible I should have that entire knowledge of their actions which might inform me sufficiently; I shall only, therefore, relate the more known and undoubted parts of their lives.

My father was Richard Herbert, Esq., son to Edward Herbert, Esq., and grandchild to Sir Richard Herbert, Knight, who was a younger son of Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in Monmouthshire, of all whom I shall say a little. And first of my father, whom I remember to have been black-haired and bearded, as all my ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly or somewhat stern look, but withal very handsome and well compact in his limbs, and of a great courage, whereof he gave proof, when he was so barbarously assaulted by many men in the churchyard at Llanerfyl, at what time he would have apprehended a man who denied to appear to justice; for, defending him-

self against them all, by the help only of one John ap Howell Corbet, he chased his adversaries, until a villain, coming behind him, did, over the shoulders of others, wound him on the head behind with a forest-bill until he fell down; though recovering himself again, notwithstanding his skull was cut through to the *pia mater* of the brain, he saw his adversaries fly away, and after walked home to his house at Llyssyn, where, after he was cured, he offered a single combat to the chief of the family, by whose procurement it was thought the mischief was committed; but he [*i.e.*, the chief] disclaiming wholly the action as not done by his consent, which he offered to testify by oath, and the villain himself flying into Ireland, whence he never returned, my father desisted from prosecuting the business any farther in that kind, and attained, notwithstanding the said hurt, that health and strength, that he returned to his former exercises in a country life, and became the father of many children. As for his integrity in his places of deputy lieutenant of the county, justice of the peace, and *custos rotulorum,* which he, as my grandfather before him, held, it is so memorable to this day, that it was said his enemies appealed to him for justice, which they also found on all occasions. His learning was not vulgar, as understanding well the Latin tongue, and being well versed in history.

My grandfather was of a various life; beginning first at court, where, after he had spent most part of his means, he became a soldier, and made his fortune with his sword at the siege of St. Quentin in France, and other wars, both in the north, and in the rebellions happening in the times of King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary, with so good success, that he not only came off still with the better, but got so much money and wealth, as enabled him to buy the greatest part of that livelihood which is descended to me.

My great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert, was steward, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, of the lordships and marches of North Wales, East Wales, and Cardiganshire, and had power, in a martial law, to execute offenders; in the using thereof he was so just, that he acquired to himself a singular reputation; as may appear upon the records of that time, kept in the Paper-Chamber at Whitehall, some

touch whereof I have made in my History of Henry the Eighth: of him I can say little more, than that he likewise was a great suppressor of rebels, thieves, and outlaws, and that he was just and conscionable; for if a false or cruel person had that power committed to his hands, he would have raised a great fortune out of it, whereof he left little, save what his father gave him, unto posterity. He lieth buried likewise in Montgomery: the upper monument of the two placed in the chancel being erected for him.

My great [great] grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, was that incomparable hero, who (in the History of Hall and Grafton, as it appears) twice passed through a great army of northern men alone, with his pole-ax in his hand, and returned without any mortal hurt, which is more than is famed of Amadis de Gaul, or the Knight of the Sun.

My mother was Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard Newport and Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Bromley, one of the privy council, and executor of King Henry the Eighth, who, surviving her husband, gave rare testimonies of an incomparable piety to God, and love to her children, as being most assiduous and devout in her daily both private and public prayers, and so careful to provide for her posterity, that though it were in her power to give her estate (which was very great) to whom she would, yet she continued still unmarried, and so provident for them, that, after she had bestowed all her daughters, with sufficient portions, upon very good neighboring families, she delivered up her estate and care of housekeeping to her eldest son Francis, when now she had for many years kept hospitality with that plenty and order as exceeded all either of her country or time; for, besides abundance of provision and good cheer for guests, which her son Sir Francis Newport continued, she used ever after dinner to distribute with her own hands to the poor, who resorted to her in great numbers, alms in money, to every one of them more or less, as she thought they needed it. By these ancestors I am descended of Talbot, Devereux, Grey, Corbet, and many other noble families, as may be seen in their matches, extant in the many fair coats the

Newports bear. I could say much more of my ancestors of that side likewise, but that I should exceed my proposed scope: I shall, therefore, only say somewhat more of my mother, my brothers, and sisters. And for my mother, after she lived most virtuously and lovingly with her husband for many years, she, after his death, erected a fair monument for him in Montgomery Church; brought up her children carefully, and put them in good courses for making their fortunes, and, briefly, was that woman Dr. Donne hath described in his funeral sermon of her printed. The names of her children were—Edward, Richard, William, Charles, George, Henry, Thomas; her daughters were, Elizabeth, Margaret, Frances.

I was born at Eyton, in Shropshire [being a house which, together with fair lands, descended upon the Newports by my said grandmother,] between the hours of twelve and one of the clock in the morning; my infancy was very sickly, my head continually purging itself very much by the ears; whereupon also it was so long before I began to speak, that many thought I should be ever dumb. The very furthest thing I remember, is, that when I understood what was said by others, I did yet forbear to speak, lest I should utter something that were imperfect or impertinent. When I came to talk, one of the furthest inquiries I made was, how I came into this world? I told my nurse, keeper, and others, I found myself here indeed, but from what cause or beginning, or by what means, I could not imagine; but for this, as I was laughed at by nurse, and some other women that were then present, so I was wondered at by others, who said, they never heard a child but myself ask that question; upon which, when I came to riper years, I made this observation, which afterwards a little comforted me, that, as I found myself in possession of this life, without knowing anything of the pangs and throes my mother suffered, yet, doubtless, they did no less press and afflict me than her, so I hope my soul shall pass to a better life than this without being sensible of the anguish and pains my body shall feel in death. For as I believe then I shall be transmitted to a more happy estate by God's great grace, I am confident I shall no more know how I came out of this world, than how I came into it.

And certainly since in my mother's womb this *plastica,* or formatrix, which formed my eyes, ears, and other senses, did not intend them for that dark and noisome place, but, as being conscious of a better life, made them as fitting organs to apprehend and perceive those things which should occur in this world: so I believe, since my coming into this world, my soul hath formed or produced certain faculties which are almost as useless for this life, as the above-named senses were for the mother's womb; and these faculties are, hope, faith, love, and joy, since they never rest or fix upon any transitory or perishing object in this world, as extending themselves to something further than can be here given, and indeed acquiesce only in the perfect, eternal, and infinite: I confess they are of some use here; yet I appeal to everybody, whether any worldly felicity did so satisfy their hope here, that they did not wish and hope for something more excellent, or whether they had ever that faith in their own wisdom, or in the help of man, that they were not constrained to have recourse to some diviner and superior power, than they could find on earth, to relieve them in their danger or necessity; whether ever they could place their love on any earthly beauty, that it did not fade and wither, if not frustrate or deceive them, or whether ever their joy was so consummate in anything they delighted in, that they did not want much more than it, or indeed this world can afford, to make them happy. The proper objects of these faculties, therefore, though framed, or at least appearing in this world, is God only, upon whom faith, hope, and love, were never placed in vain, or remain long unrequited. But to leave these discourses, and come to my childhood again.

I remember this defluxion at my ears above-mentioned continued in that violence, that my friends did not think fit to teach me so much as my alphabet until I was seven years old, at which time my defluxion ceased, and left me free of the disease my ancestors were subject unto, being the epilepsy. My schoolmaster in the house of my said lady grandmother began then to teach me the alphabet, and afterwards grammar, and other books commonly read in schools; in which I profited so much, that upon this theme *Audaces fortuna juvat,* I made an oration of a sheet of paper, and fifty or

sixty verses in the space of one day. I remember in that time I was corrected sometimes for going to cuffs with two schoolfellows being both elder than myself, but never for telling a lie or any other fault; my natural disposition and inclination being so contrary to all falsehood, that being demanded whether I had committed any fault whereof I might be justly suspected, I did use ever to confess it freely, and thereupon choosing rather to suffer correction than to stain my mind with telling a lie, which I did judge then, no time could ever deface; and I can affirm to all the world truly, that, from my first infancy to this hour, I told not willingly anything that was false, my soul naturally having an antipathy to lying and deceit.

After I had attained the age of nine, during all which time I lived in my said lady grandmother's house at Eyton, my parents thought fit to send me to some place where I might learn the Welsh tongue, as believing it necessary to enable me to treat with those of my friends and tenants who understood no other language; whereupon I was recommended to Mr. Edward Thelwall, of Plas-y-ward in Denbighshire. This gentleman I must remember with honor, as having of himself acquired the exact knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, and all other learning, having for that purpose neither gone beyond seas, nor so much as had the benefit of any universities. Besides, he was of that rare temper in governing his choler, that I never saw him angry during the time of my stay there, and have heard so much of him for many years before. When occasion of offense was given him, I have seen him redden in the face, and after remain for a while silent, but when he spake, his words were so calm and gentle, that I found he had digested his choler, though yet I confess I could never attain that perfection, as being subject ever to choler and passion more than I ought, and generally to speak my mind freely, and indeed rather to imitate those, who, having fire within doors, choose rather to give it vent than suffer it to burn the house. I commend yet much more the manner of Mr. Thelwall; and, certainly, he that can forbear speaking for some while, will remit much of his passion; but as I could not learn much of him in this kind, so I did as little profit

in learning the Welsh, or any other of those languages that worthy gentleman understood, as having a tertian ague for the most part of nine months, which was all the time I stayed in his house.

Having recovered my strength again, I was sent, being about the age of ten, to be taught by one Mr. Newton at Didlebury in Shropshire, where, in the space of less than two years, I not only recovered all I had lost in my sickness, but attained to the knowledge of the Greek tongue and logic, insomuch, that at twelve years old my parents thought fit to send me to Oxford to University College, where I remember to have disputed at my first coming in logic, and to have made in Greek the exercises required in that college, oftener than in Latin. I had not been many months in the University, but news was brought me of my father's death, his sickness being a lethargy, *caros,* or *coma vigilans,* which continued long upon him; he seemed at last to die without much pain, though in his senses. Upon opinion given by physicians that his disease was mortal, my mother thought fit to send for me home, and presently, after my father's death, to desire her brother Sir Francis Newport to haste to London to obtain my wardship for his and her use jointly, which he obtained.

Shortly after I was sent again to my studies in Oxford, where I had not been long but that an overture for a match with the daughter and heir of Sir William Herbert of St. Julian's was made, the occasion whereof was this: Sir William Herbert being heir-male to the old Earl of Pembroke above-mentioned by a younger son of his (for the eldest son had a daughter, who carried away those great possessions the Earl of Worcester now holds in Monmouthshire, as I said before), having one only daughter surviving, made a will, whereby he estated all his possessions in Monmouthshire and Ireland upon his said daughter, upon condition she married one of the surname of Herbert, otherwise the said lands to descend to the heirs-male of the said Sir William; and his daughter to have only a small portion out of the lands he had in Anglesey and Carnarvonshire; his lands being thus settled, Sir William died shortly afterwards. He was a man much conversant with books, and especially given

to the study of divinity, insomuch that he writ an Exposition upon the Revelations, which is printed; though some thought he was as far from finding the sense thereof as he was from attaining the philosopher's stone, which was another part of his study: howsoever, he was very understanding in all other things, he was noted yet to be of a very high mind; but I can say little of him, as having never seen his person, nor otherwise had much information concerning him.

His daughter and heir, called Mary, after her father died, continued unmarried until she was one-and-twenty; none of the Herberts appearing in all that time, who, either in age or fortune, was fit to match her. About this time I had attained the age of fifteen, and a match at last being proposed, yet, notwithstanding the disparity of years betwixt us, upon the eight-and-twentieth of February 1598[-9], in the house of Eyton, where the same man, vicar of ———, married my father and mother, christened and married me, I espoused her. Not long after my marriage I went again to Oxford, together with my wife and mother, who took a house, and lived for some certain time there; and now, having a due remedy for that lasciviousness to which youth is naturally inclined, I followed my book more close than ever, in which course I continued until I attained about the age of eighteen, when my mother took a house in London, between which place and Montgomery Castle I passed my time till I came to the age of one-and twenty, having in that space divers children, I having now none remaining but Beatrice, Richard, and Edward.

During this time of living in the University or at home, I did, without any master or teacher, attain the knowledge of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages, by the help of some books in Latin or English translated into those idioms, and the dictionaries of those several languages; I attained also to sing my part at first sight in music, and to play on the lute with very little or almost no teaching;—my intention in learning languages being to make myself a citizen of the world as far as it were possible; and my learning of music was for this end, that I might entertain myself at home, and together refresh my mind after my studies, to

which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery.

Being gotten thus far into my age, I shall give some observations concerning ordinary education, even from the first infancy till the departure from the University; as being desirous, together with the narration of my life, to deliver such rules as I conceive may be useful to my posterity. And first, I find, that in the infancy those diseases are to be remedied which may be hereditary unto them on either side; so that, if they be subject to the stone or gravel, I do conceive it will be good for the nurse sometimes to drink posset drinks, in which are boiled such things as are good to expel gravel and stone; the child also himself when he comes to some age may use the same posset drinks of herbs, as milium solis, saxifragia, &c., good for the stone many are reckoned by the physicians, of which also myself could bring a large catalogue, but rather leave it to those who are expert in that art. The same course is to be taken for the gout; for which purpose I do much commend the bathing of children's legs and feet in the water wherein smiths quench their iron, as also water wherein alum hath been infused, or boiled, as also the decoction of juniper berries, bay berries, chamædrys, chamæpitys, which baths also are good for those that are hereditarily subject to the palsy, for these things do much strengthen the sinews; as also olium castorii, and sucini, which are not to be used without advice. They that are also subject to the spleen from their ancestors, ought to use those herbs that are splenetics: and those that are troubled with the falling sickness, with cephaniques, of which certainly I should have had need but for the purging of my ears above mentioned. Briefly, what disease soever it be that is derived from ancestors of either side, it will be necessary first to give such medicines to the nurse as may make her milk effectual for those purposes; as also afterwards to give unto the child itself such specific remedies as his age and constitution will bear.

I could say much more upon this point, as having delighted ever in the knowledge of herbs, plants, and gums, and in few words the history of nature, insomuch, that coming to apothecaries' shops, it was my ordinary manner when I

looked upon the bills filed up, containing the physicians' prescriptions, to tell every man's disease; howbeit, I shall not presume in these particulars to prescribe to my posterity, though I believe I know the best receipts for almost all diseases, but shall leave them to the expert physician; only I will recommend again to my posterity the curing of hereditary diseases in the very infancy, since, otherwise, without much difficulty, they will never be cured.

When children go to school, they should have one to attend them, who may take care of their manners, as well as the schoolmaster doth of their learning; for among boys all vice is easily learned; and here I could wish it constantly observed, that neither the master should correct him for faults of his manners, nor his governor for manners for the faults in his learning. After the alphabet is taught, I like well the shortest and clearest grammars, and such books into which all the Greek and Latin words are severally contrived, in which kind one Comenius hath given an example: this being done, it would be much better to proceed with Greek authors than with Latin; for as it is as easy to learn at first the one as the other, it would be much better to give the first impressions into the child's memory of those things which are more rare than usual: therefore I would have them begin at Greek first, and the rather that there is not that art in the world wherein the Greeks have not excelled and gone before others; so that when you look upon philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and briefly all learning, the Greeks have exceeded all nations. When he shall be ready to go to the University, it will be fit also his governor for manners go along with him; it being the frail nature of youth, as they grow to ripeness in age, to be more capable of doing ill, unless their manners be well guided, and themselves by degrees habituated in virtue, with which if once they acquaint themselves, they will find more pleasure in it than ever they can do in vice; since everybody loves virtuous persons, whereas the vicious do scarce love one another. For this purpose, it will be necessary that you keep the company of grave, learned men, who are of good reputation, and hear rather what they say, and follow what they do, than follow the examples of young, wild, and rash persons; and certainly of those two

parts which are to be acquired in youth, whereof one is goodness and virtuous manners, the other learning and knowledge, I shall so much prefer the first before the second, as I shall ever think virtue, accompanied with ordinary discretion, will make his way better both to happiness in this world and the next, than any puffed knowledge which would cause him to be insolent and vainglorious, or minister, as it were, arms and advantages to him for doing a mischief; so that it is pity that wicked dispositions should have knowledge to actuate their ill intentions, or courage to maintain them; that fortitude which should defend all a man's virtues, being never well employed to defend his humors, passions, or vices.

I do not approve for elder brothers that course of study which is ordinary used in the University, which is, if their parents perchance intend they shall stay there four or five years, to employ the said time as if they meant to proceed masters of art and doctors in some science; for which purpose, their tutors commonly spend much time in teaching them the subtleties of logic, which, as it is usually practiced, enables them for little more than to be excellent wranglers, which art, though it may be tolerable in a mercenary lawyer, I can by no means commend in a sober and well-governed gentleman. I approve much those parts of logic which teach men to deduce their proofs from firm and undoubted principles, and show men to distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood, and help them to discover fallacies, sophisms, and that which the schoolmen call vicious argumentations, concerning which I shall not here enter into a long discourse. So much of logic as may serve for this purpose being acquired, some good sum of philosophy may be learned, which may teach him both the ground of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. After which it will not be amiss to read the *Idea Medicinæ Philosophicæ,* written by Severinus (Danus), there being many things considerable concerning the Paracelsian principles written in that book, which are not to be found in former writers; it will not be amiss also to read over Franciscus Patricius, and Telesius, who have examined and controverted the ordinary Peripatetic doctrine; all which may be performed in one year, that term being enough for philosophy, as I conceive, and six months for logic, for I am

confident a man may have quickly more than he needs of these two arts. These being attained, it will be requisite to study geography with exactness, so much as may teach a man the situation of all countries in the whole world, together with which, it will be fit to learn something concerning the governments, manners, religions, either ancient or new, as also the interests of states, and relations in amity, or strength in which they stand to their neighbors; it will be necessary also, at the same time, to learn the use of the celestial globe, the studies of both globes being complicated and joined together. I do not conceive yet the knowledge of judicial astrology so necessary, but only for general predictions; particular events being neither intended by nor collected out of the stars.

It will be also fit to learn arithmetic and geometry in some good measure, but especially arithmetic, it being most useful for many purposes, and, among the rest, for keeping accounts, whereof here is much use. As for the knowledge of lines, superfices, and bodies, though it be a science of much certainty and demonstration, it is not much useful for a gentleman, unless it be to understand fortifications, the knowledge whereof is worthy of those who intend the wars; though yet he must remember, that whatsoever art doth in way of defense, art likewise, in way of assailing, can destroy. This study hath cost me much labor, but as yet I could never find how any place could be so fortified, but that there were means, in certain opposite lines, to prevent or subvert all that could be done in that kind.

It will become a gentleman to have some knowledge in medicine, especially the diagnostic part, whereby he may take timely notice of a disease, and by that means timely prevent it, as also the prognostic part, whereby he may judge of the symptoms either increasing or decreasing in the disease, as also concerning the crisis or indication thereof. This art will get a gentleman not only much knowledge, but much credit; since seeing any sick body, he will be able to tell, in all human probability, whether he shall recover, or if he shall die of the disease, to tell what signs shall go before, and what the conclusion will be; it will become him also to know not only the ingredients, but doses, of certain cathartic or

purging, emetic or vomitive medicines, specific or choleric, melancholic, or phlegmatic constitutions, phlebotomy being only necessary for those who abound in blood.

Besides, I would have a gentleman know how to make these medicines himself, and afterwards prepare them with his own hands; it being the manner of apothecaries so frequently to put in the succedanea, that no man is sure to find with them medicines made with the true drugs which ought to enter into the composition when it is exotic or rare; or when they are extant in the shop, no man can be assured that the said drugs are not rotten, or that they have not lost their natural force and virtue. I have studied this art very much also, and have, in case of extremity, ministered physic with that success which is strange, whereof I shall give two or three examples: Richard Griffiths of Sutton, my servant, being sick of a malignant pestilent fever [a case of typhus fever], and tried in vain all our country physicians could do, and his water at last stinking so grievously, which physicians note to be a sign of extension of natural heat, and consequently of present [immediate] death, I was entreated to see him, when as yet he had neither eaten, drank, slept, or known anybody for the space of six or seven days; whereupon demanding whether the physicians had given him over, and it being answered unto me that they had, I said it would not be amiss to give him the quantity of an hazel-nut of a certain rare receipt which I had, assuring that if anything in the world could recover him, that would: of which I was so confident, that I would come the next day at four of the clock in the afternoon unto him, and at that time I doubted not but they should find signs of amendment, provided they should put the doses I gave them, being about the bigness of a nut, down his throat; which being done with much difficulty, I came the morrow after at the hour appointed, when, to the wonder of his family, he knew me, and asked for some broth, and not long after recovered.

My cousin, Athelston Owen, also of Rhiew Saeson, having an hydrocephale also in that extremity that his eyes began to start out of his head, and his tongue to come out of his mouth, and his whole head finally exceeding its natural proportion, insomuch that his physicians likewise left him; I

prescribed to him the decoction of two diuretic roots, which after he had drank four or five days, he urined in that abundance that his head by degrees returned to its ancient figure, and all other signs of health appeared; whereupon also he wrote a letter to me, that he was so suddenly and perfectly restored to his former health, that it seemed more like a mircle than a cure; for those are the very words in the letter he sent me. I cured a great lady in London of an issue of blood, when all the physicians had given her over, with so easy a medicine, that the lady herself was astonished to find the effects thereof. I could give more examples in this kind, but these shall suffice. As for the chemic or spagyric medicines, I cannot commend them to the use of my posterity; there being neither emetic, cathartic, diaphoretic, diuretic medicines extant among them, which are not much more happily and safely performed by vegetables; but hereof enough, since I pretend no further than to give some few directions to my posterity. In the meanwhile, I conceive it is a fine study, and worthy a gentleman to be a good botanic, that so he may know the nature of all herbs and plants, being our fellow-creatures, and made for the use of man; for which purpose it will be fit for him to cull out of some good herbal all the icones [*i.e.* εἰκόνες, figures] together, with the descriptions of them, and to lay by themselves all such as grow in England, and afterwards to select again such as usually grow by the highway-side, in meadows, by rivers, or in marshes, or in cornfields, or in dry and mountainous places, or on rocks, walls, or in shady places, such as grow by the seaside; for this being done, and the said icones being ordinarily carried by themselves, or by their servants, one may presently find out every herb he meets withal, especially if the said flowers be truly colored. Afterwards it will not be amiss to distinguish by themselves such herbs as are in gardens, and are exotics, and are transplanted hither. As for those plants which will not endure our clime, though the knowledge of them be worthy of a gentleman, and the virtues of them be fit to be learned, especially if they be brought over to a druggist as medicinal, yet the icones of them are not so pertinent to be known as the former, unless it be where there is less danger of adulterating the said medica-

ments; in which case, it is good to have recourse to not only the botanics, but also to Gesner's Dispensatory, and to *Aurora Medicorum*, above mentioned, being books which make a man distinguish betwixt good and bad drugs: And this much of medicine may not only be useful but delectable to a gentleman, since which way soever he passeth, he may find something to entertain him.

I must no less commend the study of anatomy, which whosoever considers, I believe will never be an atheist; the frame of man's body and coherence of his parts being so strange and paradoxal, that I hold it to be the greatest miracle of nature; though when all is done, I do not find she hath made it so much as proof against one disease, lest it should be thought to have made it no less than a prison to the soul.

Having thus passed over all human literature, it will be fit to say something of moral virtues and theological learning. As for the first, since the Christians and the heathens are in a manner agreed concerning the definitions of virtues, it would not be inconvenient to begin with those definitions which Aristotle in his Morals hath given, as being confirmed for the most part by the Platonics, Stoics, and other philosophers, and in general by the Christian Church, as well as all nations in the world whatsoever; they being doctrines imprinted in the soul in its first original, and containing the principal and first notices by which man may attain his happiness here or hereafter; there being no man that is given to vice that doth not find much opposition both in his own conscience, and in the religion and law as taught elsewhere. This I dare say, that a virtuous man may not only go securely through all the religions, but all the laws in the world, and whatsoever obstructions he meet, obtain both an inward peace and outward welcome among all with whom he shall negotiate or converse. This virtue, therefore, I shall recommend to my posterity as the greatest perfection he can attain unto in this life, and the pledge of eternal happiness hereafter; there being none that can justly hope of an union with the supreme God, that doth not come as near to him in this life in virtue and goodness as he can; so that if human frailty do interrupt this union, by committing faults that make him incapable of his everlasting happiness, it will be fit, by a serious repen-

tance, to expiate and emaculate those faults, and for the rest, trust to the mercy of God his Creator, Redeemer, and Preserver, who being our Father, and knowing well in what a weak condition through infirmities we are, will, I doubt not, commiserate those transgressions we commit when they are done without desire to offend his Divine Majesty, and together rectify our understanding through his grace.

Since we commonly sin through no other cause, but that we mistook a true good for that which was only apparent, and so were deceived, by making an undue election in the objects proposed to us; wherein, though it will be fit for every man to confess that he hath offended an infinite Majesty and Power, yet, as upon better consideration, he finds he did not mean infinitely to offend, there will be just reason to believe that God will not inflict an infinite punishment upon him if he be truly penitent, so that his justice may be satisfied, if not with man's repentance, yet at least with some temporal punishment here or hereafter, such as may be proportionable to the offense. I cannot deny but when man would infinitely offend God in a despiteful and contemptuous way, it will be but just that he suffer an infinite punishment: but as I hope none are so wicked as to sin purposely, and with an high hand against the eternal Majesty of God; so when they shall commit any sins out of frailty, I shall believe, either, that unless they be finally impenitent, and, (as they say, sold ingeniously over to sin) God's mercy will accept of their endeavors to return into a right way, and so make their peace with him by all those good means that are possible. Having thus recommended the learning of moral philosophy and practice of virtue, as the most necessary knowledge and useful exercise of man's life, I shall observe, that even in the employing of our virtues, discretion is required; for every virtue is not promiscuously to be used, but such only as is proper for the present occasion. Therefore, though a wary and discreet wisdom be most useful where no imminent danger appears, yet, where an enemy draweth his sword against you, you shall have most use of fortitude, prevention being too late, when the danger is so pressing.

On the other side, there is no occasion to use your fortitude against wrongs done by women or children, or ignorant per-

sons, that I may say nothing of those that are much your superiors, who are magistrates, &c., since you might by a discreet wisdom have declined the injury, or when it were too late to do so, you may with more equal mind support that which is done, either by authority in the one, or frailty in the other. And certainly to such kind of person's forgiveness will be proper; in which kind I am confident no man of my time hath exceeded me; for though whensoever my honor hath been engaged, no man hath ever been more forward to hazard his life, yet where, with my honor I could forgive, I never used revenge, as leaving it always to God, who, the less I punish mine enemies will inflict so much the more punishment on them;[1] and to this forgiveness of others three considerations have especially invited me.

1. That he that cannot forgive others breaks the bridge over which he must pass himself, for every man hath need to be forgiven.

2. That when a man wants or comes short of an entire and accomplished virtue, our defects may be supplied this way, since the forgiving of evil deeds in others amounteth to no less than virtue in us; that therefore it may be not unaptly called the paying our debts with another man's money.

3. That it is the most necessary and proper work of every man; for, though when I do not a just thing, or a charitable, or a wise, another man may do it for me, yet no man can forgive my enemy but myself. And these have been the chief motives for which I have been ever inclined to forgiveness; whereof, though I have rarely found other effect than that my servants, tenants, and neighbors have thereupon more frequently offended me, yet at least I have had within me an inward peace and comfort thereby; since I can truly say, nothing ever gave my mind more ease than when I had forgiven my enemies, which freed me from many cares and perturbations, which otherwise would have molested me.

And this likewise brings in another rule concerning the use of virtues, which is, that you are not to use justice where mercy is most proper; as, on the other side, a foolish pity is

[1] Horace Walpole (Lord Orford) remarks on this passage: "This is a very unchristian reason for pardoning our enemies, and can by no means be properly called forgiveness. Is it forgiveness to remit a punishment on the hope of its being doubled?"

not to be preferred before that which is just and necessary for good example. So likewise liberality is not to be used where parsimony or frugality is more requisite; as, on the other side, it will be but a sordid thing in a gentleman to spare where expending of money would acquire unto him advantage, credit, or honor: and this rule in general ought to be practiced, that the virtue requisite to the occasion is ever to be produced, as the most opportune and necessary. That, therefore, wisdom is the soul of all virtues, giving as unto her members life and motion, and so necessary in every action, that whosoever by the benefit of true wisdom makes use of the right virtue, on all emergent occasions, I dare say would never be constrained to have recourse to vice, whereby it appears that every virtue is not to be employed indifferently, but that only which is proper for the business in question; among which yet temperance seems so universally requisite, that some part of it at least will be a necessary ingredient in all human actions, since there may be an excess even in religious worship, at those times when other duties are required at our hands. After all, moral virtues are learned and directed to the service and glory of God, as the principal end and use of them.

It would be fit that some time be spent in learning rhetoric or oratory, to the intent that upon all occasions you may express yourself with eloquence and grace; for, as it is not enough for a man to have a diamond unless it is polished and cut out into its due angles, and a foil be set underneath, whereby it may the better transmit and vibrate its native luster and rays; so it will not be sufficient for a man to have a great understanding in all matters, unless the said understanding be not only polished and clear, but underset and holpen a little with those figures, tropes, and colors which rhetoric affords, where there is use of persuasion. I can by no means yet commend an affected eloquence, there being nothing so pedantical, or indeed that would give more suspicion that the truth is not intended, than to use overmuch the common forms prescribed in schools. It is well said by them, that there are two parts of eloquence necessary and recommendable; one is, to speak hard things plainly, so that when a knotty or intricate business, having no method or

coherence in its parts, shall be presented, it will be a singular part of oratory to take those parts asunder, set them together aptly, and so exhibit them to the understanding. And this part of rhetoric I much commend to everybody; there being no true use of speech, but to make things clear, perspicuous, and manifest, which otherwise would be perplexed, doubtful, and obscure.

The other part of oratory is to speak common things ingeniously or wittily; there being no little vigor and force added to words, when they are delivered in a neat and fine way, and somewhat out of the ordinary road, common and dull language relishing more of the clown than the gentleman. But herein also affectation must be avoided; it being better for a man by a native and clear eloquence to express himself, than by those words which may smell either of the lamp or inkhorn; so that, in general, one may observe, that men who fortify and uphold their speeches with strong and evident reasons, have ever operated more on the minds of the auditors, than those who have made rhetorical excursions.

It will be better for a man who is doubtful of his pay to take an ordinary silver piece with its due stamp upon it, than an extraordinary gilded piece which may perchance contain a baser metal under it; and prefer a well-favored wholesome woman, though with a tawny complexion, before a besmeared and painted face.

It is a general note, that a man's wit is best showed in his answer, and his valor in his defense; that therefore as men learn in fencing how to ward all blows and thrusts, which are or can be made against him [? them], so it will be fitting to debate and resolve beforehand what you are to say or do upon any affront given you, lest otherwise you should be surprised. Aristotle hath written a book of rhetoric, a work in my opinion not inferior to his best pieces, whom therefore with Cicero de Oratore, as also Quintilian, you may read for your instruction how to speak; neither of which two yet I can think so exact in their orations, but that a middle style will be of more efficacy, Cicero in my opinion being too long and tedious, and Quintilian too short and concise.

Having thus by moral philosophy enabled yourself to all that wisdom and goodness which is requisite to direct you in

all your particular actions, it will be fit now to think how you are to behave yourself as a public person, or member of the commonwealth and kingdom wherein you live; as also to look into those principles and grounds upon which government is framed, it being manifest in nature that the wise doth easily govern the foolish, and the strong master the weak, so that he that could attain most wisdom and power, would quickly rule his fellows; for proof whereof, one may observe that a king is sick during that time the physicians govern him, and in day of battle an expert general appoints the king a place in which he shall stand; which was anciently the office of the constables de France. In law also the judge is in a sort superior to his king as long as he judgeth betwixt him and his people. In divinity also, he, to whom the king commits the charge of his conscience, is his superior in that particular. All which instances may sufficiently prove, that in many cases the wiser governs or commands one less wise than himself, unless a willful obstinacy be interposed; in which case recourse must be had to strength, where obedience is necessary.

The exercises I chiefly used, and most recommend to my posterity, were riding the great horse [2] and fencing, in which arts I had excellent masters, English, French, and Italian. As for dancing, I could never find leisure enough to learn it, as employing my mind always in acquiring of some art or science more useful; howbeit, I shall wish these three exercises learned in this order.

That dancing may be learnt first, as that which doth fashion the body, gives one a good presence in and address to all companies, since it disposeth the limbs to a kind of *souplesse* (as the Frenchmen call it) and agility, insomuch as they seem to have the use of their legs, arms, and bodies, more

[2] This very well-known phrase was first fully explained by Richard Berenger in his "History and Art of Horsemanship" (London, 1771), i. 169, 170. Great horses, he says, [called also *Dextrarii* (Lat.), *Destriere* (Ital.), and *Destrier* (Fr.), from *dextra*, as being carefully handled, dressed, or managed], are opposed to Palfreys, Coursers, and Nags, and are exclusively used in war and for the exercises of the Tournament. They are usually of prodigious weight, because their riders are clothed in complete armor. Their size made it necessary for soldiers to learn the art of managing them after certain fixed rules, and hence came the expression to "ride the great horse."

than any others, who, standing stiff and stark in their postures, seem as if they were taken in their joints, or had not the perfect use of their members. I speak not this yet as if I would have a youth never stand still in company, but only, that when he hath occasion to stir, his motions may be comely and graceful, that he may learn to know how to come in and go out of a room where company is, how to make courtesies handsomely, according to the several degrees of persons he shall encounter, how to put off and hold his hat; all which, and many other things which become men, are taught by the more accurate dancing-masters in France.

The next exercise a young man should learn (but not before he is eleven or twelve years of age) is fencing; for the attaining of which the Frenchman's rule is excellent, *bon pied bon œil*, by which to teach men how far they may stretch out their feet when they would make a thrust against their enemy, lest either should overstride themselves, or, not striding far enough, fail to bring the point of their weapon home. The second part of his direction adviseth the scholar to keep a fixed eye upon the point of his enemy's sword, to the intent he may both put by or ward the blows and thrusts made against him, and together direct the point of his sword upon some part of his enemy that lieth naked and open to him.

And, indeed, I think I shall not speak vaingloriously of myself, if I say, that no man understood the use of his weapon better than I did, or hath more dexterously prevailed himself thereof on all occasions; since I found no man could be hurt but through some error in fencing.

I spent much time also in learning to ride the great horse, that creature being made above all others for the service of man, as giving his rider all the advantages of which he is capable, while sometimes he gives him strength, sometimes agility or motion for the overcoming of his enemy, insomuch, that a good rider on a good horse, is as much above himself and others, as this world can make him. The rule for graceful riding is, that a man hold his eyes always betwixt the two ears, and his rod [*i.e.*, whip] over the left ear of his horse; which he is to use for turning him every way, helping himself with his left foot and rod upon the left part of his neck, to make his horse turn on the right hand, and with the right

foot and help of his rod also (if needs be), to turn him on the left hand; but this is to be used rather when one would make a horse understand these motions, than when he is a ready horse, the foot and stirrup alone applied to either shoulder being suffieient, with the help of the reins, to make him turn any way. That a rider thus may have the use of his sword, or when it is requisite only to make a horse go sidewards, it will be enough to keep the reins equal in his hand, and with the flat of his leg and foot together, and a toueh upon the shoulder of the horse with the stirrup to make him go sideward either way, without either advaneing forward, or returning baekwards.

The manner of fighting a duel on horsebaek I was taught thus. We had eaeh of us a reasonable stiff riding-rod in our hands, about the length of a sword, and so rid one against the other; he, as the more expert, sat still to pass me and then to get behind me, and after to turn with his right hand upon my left side with his rod, that so he might hit me with the point thereof in the body; and he that can do this handsomely, is sure to overeome his adversary, it being impossible to bring his sword about enough to defend himself or offend the assailant; and to get this advantage, whieh they call in French, *gagner la crouppe,* nothing is so useful as to make a horse to go only sideward until his adversary be past him, sinee he will by this means avoid his adversary's blow or thrust, and on a sudden get on the left hand of his adversary in the manner I formerly related.

To make a horse fit for the wars, and embolden him against all terrors, these inventions are useful: to beat a drum out of the stable first, and then give him his provender: then beat a drum in the stable by degrees, and then give him his provender upon the drum. When he is acquainted herewith sufficiently, you must shoot off a pistol out of the stable, before he hath his provender; then you may shoot off a pistol in the stable, and so by degrees bring it as near to him as you ean till he be acquainted with the pistol, likewise remembering still after every shot to give him more provender. You must also eause his groom to put on bright armor, and so to rub his heels and dress him. You must also present a sword before him in the said armor, and when you have done,

give him still some more provender. Lastly, his rider must bring his horse forth into the open field, where a bright armor must be fastened upon a stake, and set forth in the likeness of an armed man as much as possible; which being done, the rider must put his horse on until he make him not only approach the said image, but throw it down; which being done, you must be sure to give him some provender, that he may be encouraged to do the like against an adversary in battle. It will be good also that two men do hold up a cloak betwixt them in the field, and then the rider to put the horse to it until he leap over, which cloak also they may raise as they see occasion, when the horse is able to leap so high. You shall do well also to use your horse to swimming; which you may do, either by trailing him after you at the tail of a boat, in a good river, holding him by the head at the length of the bridle, or by putting a good swimmer in a linen waistcoat and breeches upon him.

It will be fit for a gentleman also to learn to swim, unless he be given to cramps and convulsions; howbeit, I must confess, in my own particular, that I cannot swim; for, as I was once in danger of drowning, by learning to swim, my mother, upon her blessing, charged me never to learn swimming, telling me further, that she had heard of more drowned than saved by it; which reason, though it did not prevail with me, yet her commandment did. It will be good also for a gentleman to learn to leap, wrestle, and vault on horseback; they being all of them qualities of great use. I do much approve likewise of shooting in the long-bow, as being both an healthful exercise and useful for the wars, notwithstanding all that our firemen speak against it; for, bring an hundred archers against so many musqueteers, I say if the archer comes within his distance, he will not only make two shoots, but two hits for one.

The exercises I do not approve of are riding of running horses, there being much cheating in that kind; neither do I see why a brave man should delight in a creature whose chief use is to help him to run away. I do not much like of hunting horses, that exercise taking up more time than can be spared from a man studious to get knowledge; it is enough, therefore, to know the sport, if there be any in it, without making

it an ordinary practice; and, indeed, of the two, hawking is the better, because less time is spent in it. And upon these terms also I can allow a little bowling; so that the company be choice and good.

The exercises I wholly condemn, are dicing and carding, especially if you play for any great sum of money, or spend any time in them, or use to come to meetings in dicing-houses, where cheaters meet and cozen young gentlemen of all their money. I could say much more concerning all these points of education, and particularly concerning the discreet civility which is to be observed in communication either with friends or strangers, but this work would grow too big.

It would also deserve a particular lecture or *recherche*, how one ought to behave himself with children, servants, tenants, and neighbors; and I am confident, that precepts in this point will be found more useful to young gentlemen, than all the subtleties of schools. I confess I have collected many things to this purpose, which I forbear to set down here; because, if God grant me life and health, I intend to make a little treatise concerning these points. I shall return now to the narration of mine own history.

When I had attained the age betwixt eighteen or nineteen years, my mother, together with myself and wife, removed up to London, where we took house, and kept a greater family than became either my mother's widow's estate, or such young beginners as we were; especially, since six brothers and three sisters were to be provided for, my father having either made no will, or such an imperfect one, that it was not proved. My mother, although she had all my father's leases and goods, which were of great value, yet she desired me to undertake that burden of providing for my brothers and sisters; which, to gratify my mother, as well as those so near me, I was voluntarily content to provide thus far, as to give my six brothers thirty pounds apiece yearly, during their lives, and my three sisters one thousand pound apiece, which portions married them to those I have above mentioned. My younger sister, indeed, might have been married to a far greater fortune, had not the overthwartness of some neighbors interrupted it.

About the year of our Lord 1600 I came to London,

shortly after which the attempt of the Earl of Essex, related in our history, followed; which I had rather were seen in the writers of that argument than here. Not long after this, curiosity, rather than ambition, brought me to court; and as it was the manner of those times for all men to kneel down before the great Queen Elizabeth, who then reigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the presence-chamber, when she passed by to the Chapel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw me, she stopped, and, swearing her usual oath,[3] demanded, "Who is this?" Everybody there present looked upon me, but no man knew me, until Sir James Croft, a pensioner, finding the Queen stayed, returned back and told who I was, and that I had married Sir William Herbert of St. Julian's daughter. The Queen hereupon looked attentively upon me, and swearing again her ordinary oath, said it is pity he was married so young, and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek. I remember little more of myself, but that, from that time until King James's coming to the crown, I had a son which died shortly afterwards, and that I attended my studies seriously; the more I learnt out of my books, adding still a desire to know more.

King James being now acknowledged King, and coming towards London, I thought fit to meet his Majesty at Burleigh, near Stamford. Shortly after I was made Knight of the Bath, with the usual ceremonies belonging to that ancient order. I could tell how much my person was commended by the lords and ladies that came to see the solemnity then used; but I shall flatter myself too much if I believed it.

I must not forget yet the ancient custom, being that some principal person was to put on the right spur of those the King had appointed to receive that dignity. The Earl of Shrewsbury, seeing my esquire there with my spur in his hand, voluntarily came to me, and said, "Cousin, I believe you will be a good knight, and therefore I will put on your spur;" whereupon, after my most humble thanks for so great a favor, I held up my leg against the wall, and he put on my spur.

[3] Naunton gives *God's Death* as the Queen's "wonted oath." Fragmenta Regalia (1641), ed. Arber, p. 17.

There is another custom likewise, that the knights the first day wear the gown of some religious order, and the night following to be bathed; after which they take an oath never to sit in place where injustice should be done, but they shall right it to the uttermost of their power; and particularly ladies and gentlewomen that shall be wronged in their honor, if they demand assistance, and many other points, not unlike the romances of knight errantry.

The second day to wear robes of crimson taffety (in which habit I am painted in my study,) and so to ride from St. James's Whitehall, with our esquires before us; and the third day to wear a gown of purple satin, upon the left sleeve whereof is fastened certain strings weaved of white silk and gold tied in a knot, and tassels to it of the same, which all the knights are obliged to wear until they have done something famous in arms, or until some lady of honor take it off, and fasten it on her sleeve, saying, I will answer he shall prove a good knight. I had not long worn this string, but a principal lady of the court, and, certainly, in most men's opinion, the handsomest, took mine off, and said she would pledge her honor for mine. I do not name this lady, because some passages happened afterwards which oblige me to silence; though nothing could be justly said to her prejudice or wrong.

Shortly after this I intended to go with Charles, Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Admiral, who went to Spain to take the King's oath for confirmation of the articles of peace betwixt the two crowns. Howbeit, by the industry of some near me, who desired to stay me at home, I was hindered; and, instead of going that voyage, was made Sheriff of Montgomeryshire, concerning which I will say no more, but that I bestowed the place of under-sheriff, as also other places in my gifts, freely, without either taking gift or reward; which custom also I have observed throughout the whole course of my life; insomuch that when I was ambassador in France, and might have had great presents, which former ambassadors accepted, for doing lawful courtesies to merchants and others, yet no gratuity, upon what terms soever, could ever be fastened upon me.

This public duty did not hinder me yet to follow my be-

loved studies in a country life for the most part; although sometimes also I resorted to court, without yet that I had any ambition there, and much less was tainted with those corrupt delights incident to the times. For, living with my wife in all conjugal loyalty for the space of about ten years after my marriage, I wholly declined the allurements and temptations whatsoever, which might incline me to violate my marriage bed.

About the year 1608, my two daughters, called Beatrice, and Florence who lived not yet long after, and one son Richard being born, and come to so much maturity, that, although in their mere childhood, they gave no little hopes of themselves for the future time, I called them all before my wife, demanding, how she liked them, to which she answering "well;" I demanded then, whether she was willing to do so much for them as I would? whereupon, she replying, demanded what I meant by that. I told her, that, for my part, I was but young for a man, and she not old for a woman; that our lives were in the hands of God; that, if He pleased to call either of us away, that party which remained might marry again, and have children by some other, to which our estates might be disposed; for preventing whereof, I thought fit to motion to her, that if she would assure upon the son any quantity of lands from three hundred pounds a year to one thousand, I would do the like. But my wife not approving hereof, answered, in these express words, that she would not draw the cradle upon her head; whereupon, I desiring her to advise better upon the business, and to take some few days' respite for that purpose, she seemed to depart from me not very well contented.

About a week or ten days afterwards, I demanded again what she thought concerning the motion I made; to which yet she said no more, but that she thought she had already answered me sufficiently to the point. I told her then, that I should make another motion to her; which was, that in regard I was too young to go beyond sea before I married her, she now would give me leave for a while to see foreign countries; howbeit, if she would assure her lands as I would mine, in the manner above-mentioned, I would never depart from her. She answered, that I knew her mind before concerning

that point, yet that she should be sorry I went beyond sea; nevertheless, if I would needs go, she could not help it. This, whether a license taken or given, served my turn to prepare without delay for a journey beyond sea, that so I might satisfy that curiosity I long since had to see foreign countries. So that I might leave my wife so little discontented as I could, I left her not only posterity to renew the family of the Herberts of St. Julian's according to her father's desire to inherit his lands, but the rents of all the lands she brought with her; reserving mine own, partly to pay my brothers' and sisters' portions, and defraying my charges abroad. Upon which terms, though I was sorry to leave my wife, as having lived most honestly with her all this time, I thought it no such unjust ambition, to attain the knowledge of foreign countries; especially, since I had in great part already attained the languages, and that I intended not to spend any long time out of my country.

Before I departed yet, I left her with child of a son, christened afterwards by the name of Edward; and now coming to court, I obtained a license to go beyond sea, taking with me for my companion Mr. Aurelian Townsend, a gentleman that spoke the languages of French, Italian, and Spanish, in great perfection, and a man to wait in my chamber, who spoke French, two lacqueys, and three horses. Coming thus to Dover, and passing the seas thence to Calais, I journeyed without any memorable adventure, until I came to Faubourg St. Germain in Paris, where Sir George Carew, then ambassador for the King, lived; I was kindly received by him, and often invited to his table. Next to his house dwelt the Duke of Ventadour, who had married a daughter of Monsieur de Montmorency, Grand Constable de France. Many visits being exchanged between that Duchess and the lady of our ambassador, it pleased the Duchess to invite me to her father's house, at the castle of Merlou, being about twenty-four miles from Paris; and here I found much welcome from that grave old General, who being informed of my name, said he knew well of what family I was; telling, the first notice he had of the Herberts was at the siege of St. Quentin, where my grandfather, with a command of foot under William Earl of Pembroke, was.

Passing two or three days here, it happened one evening, that a daughter of the Duchess, of about ten or eleven years of age, going one evening from the castle to walk in the meadows, myself, with divers French gentlemen, attended her and some gentlewomen that were with her. This young lady wearing a knot of ribbon on her head, a French chevalier took it suddenly, and fastened it to his hatband. The young lady, offended herewith, demands her ribbon, but he refusing to restore it, the young lady, addressing herself to me, said, "Monsieur, I pray get my ribbon from that gentleman." Hereupon, going towards him, I courteously, with my hat in my hand, desired him to do me the honor, that I may deliver the lady her ribbon or bouquet again; but he roughly answering me, "Do you think I will give it you, when I have refused it to her?" I replied, "Nay then, sir, I will make you restore it by force;" whereupon also, putting on my hat and reaching at his, he to save himself ran away, and, after a long course in the meadow, finding that I had almost overtook him, he turned short, and running to the young lady, was about to put the ribbon on her hand, when I, seizing upon his arm, said to the young lady, "It was I that gave it." "Pardon me," quoth she, "it is he that gives it me." I said then, "Madam, I will not contradict you; but if he dare say that I did not constrain him to give it, I will fight with him." The French gentleman answered nothing thereunto for the present, and so conducted the young lady again to the castle.

The next day I desired Mr. Aurelian Townsend to tell the French cavalier, that either he must confess that I constrained him to restore the ribbon, or fight with me; but the gentleman seeing him unwilling to accept of this challenge, went out from the place, whereupon, I following him, some of the gentlemen that belonged to the Constable taking notice hereof, acquainted him therewith, who sending for the French cavalier, checked him well for his sauciness, in taking the ribbon away from his grandchild, and afterwards bid him depart his house; and this was all that I ever heard of the gentleman, with whom I proceeded in that manner, because I thought myself obliged thereunto by the oath taken when I was made Knight of the Bath, as I formerly related upon this occasion.

I must remember also, that three other times I engaged myself to challenge men to fight with me, who I conceived had injured ladies and gentlewomen; one was in defense of my cousin, Sir Francis Newport's daughter, who was married to John Barker of Hamon, whose younger brother and heir sent him a challenge, which to this day he never answered; and would have beaten him afterwards, but that I was hindered by my uncle Sir Francis Newport.

I had another occasion to challenge one Captain Vaughan, who I conceived offered some injury to my sister the Lady Jones of Abermarles. I sent him a challenge, which he accepted, the place between us being appointed beyond Greenwich, with seconds on both sides. Hereupon, I coming to the King's Head in Greenwich, with intention the next morning to be in the place, I found the house beset with at least an hundred persons, partly sent by the Lords of the Privy Council, who gave orders to apprehend me. I hearing thereof, desired my servant to bring my horses as far as he could from my lodging, but yet within sight of me; which being done, and all this company coming to lay hold on me, I and my second, who was my cousin, James Price of Hanachly, sallied out of the doors, with our swords drawn, and, in spite of that multitude, made our way to our horses, where my servant very honestly opposing himself against those who would have laid hands upon us, while we got up on horseback, was himself laid hold on by them, and evil treated; which I perceiving, rid back again, and with my sword in my hand rescued him, and afterwards seeing him get on horseback, charged them to go anywhere rather than to follow me. Riding afterwards with my second to the place appointed, I found nobody there; which, as I heard afterwards, happened, because the Lords of the Council, taking notice of this difference, apprehended him, and charged him in his Majesty's name not to fight with me; since otherwise I believed he would not have failed.

The third that I questioned in this kind was a Scotch gentleman, who, taking a ribbon in the like manner from Mrs. Middlemore, a maid of honor, as was done from the young lady above-mentioned, in a back room behind Queen Anne's lodgings in Greenwich, she likewise desired me to get her

the said ribbon. I repaired, as formerly, to him in a courteous manner to demand it, but he refusing as the French cavalier did, I caught him by the neck, and had almost thrown him down, when company came in and parted us. I offered likewise to fight with this gentleman, and came to the place appointed by Hyde Park; but this also was interrupted by order of the Lords of the Council, and I never heard more of him.

These passages, though different in time, I have related here together; both for the similitude of argument, and that it may appear how strictly I held myself to my oath of knighthood; since, for the rest I can truly say, that, though I have lived in the armies and courts of the greatest princes in Christendom, yet I never had a quarrel with man for my own sake; so that, although in mine own nature I was ever choleric and hasty, yet I never without occasion quarreled with anybody, and as little did anybody attempt to give me offense, as having as clear a reputation for my courage as whosoever of my time. For my friends often I have hazarded myself; but never yet drew my sword for my own sake singly, as hating ever the doing of injury, contenting myself only to resent them when they were offered me. After this digression I shall return to my history.

That brave Constable in France testifying now more than formerly his regard of me, at his departure from Merlou to his fair house at Chantilly, five or six miles distant, said, he left that castle to be commanded by me, as also his forests and chases, which were well stored with wild boar and stag; and that I might hunt them when I pleased. He told me also, that if I would learn to ride the great horse, he had a stable there of some fifty, the best and choicest as was thought in France; and that his escuyer, called Monsieur de Disancourt, not inferior to Pluvinel or Labroue, should teach me. I did with great thankfulness accept his offer, as being very much addicted to the exercise of riding great horses; and, as for hunting in his forests, I told him I should use it sparingly, as being desirous to preserve his game. He commanded also his escuyer to keep a table for me, and his pages to attend me, the chief of whom was Monsieur de Mennon, who proving to be one of the best horsemen in France, keeps now an academy

in Paris; and here I shall recount a little passage betwixt him and his master, that the inclination of the French at that time may appear; there being scarce any man thought worth the looking on, that had not killed some other in duel.

Mennon (? Menou) desiring to marry a niece of Monsieur Disancourt, who it was thought should be his heir, was thus answered by him: "Friend, it is not time yet to marry; I will tell you what you must do. If you will be a brave man, you must first kill in single combat two or three men, then afterwards marry and engender two or three children, so the world will neither have got nor lost by you;" of which strange counsel Disancourt was no otherwise the author than as he had been an example at least of the former part; it being his fortune to have fought three or four brave duels in his time.

And now, as every morning I mounted the great horse, so in the afternoon I many times went a-hunting, the manner of which was this. The Duke of Montmorency having given orders to the tenants of the town of Merlou, and some villages adjoining, to attend me when I went a-hunting, they, upon my summons, usually repaired to those woods where I intended to find my game, with drums and muskets, to the number of sixty or eighty, and sometimes one hundred or more persons; they entering the wood on that side with that noise, discharging their pieces and beating their said drums, we on the other side of the said wood having placed mastiffs and greyhounds to the number of twenty or thirty, which Monsieur de Montmorency kept near his castle, expected those beasts they should force out of the wood. If stags or wild boars came forth, we commonly spared them, pursuing only the wolves, which were there in great number, of which are found two sorts; the mastiff wolf, thick and short, though he could not indeed run fast, yet would fight with our dogs; the greyhound wolf, long and swift, who many times escaped our best dogs, although when he was overtaken, easily killed by us, without making much resistance. Of both these sorts I killed divers with my sword, while I stayed there.

One time also it was my fortune to kill a wild boar in this manner. The boar being roused from his den, fled before our dogs for a good space; but finding them press him hard,

turned his head against our dogs, and hurt three or four of them very dangerously: I came on horseback up to him, and with my sword thrust him twice or thrice without entering his skin, the blade being not so stiff as it should be. The boar hereupon turned upon me, and much endangered my horse; which I perceiving, rid a little out of the way, and leaving my horse with my lacquey, returned with my sword against the boar, who by this time had hurt more dogs. And here happened a pretty kind of fight; for, when I thrust at the boar sometimes with my sword, which in some places I made enter, the boar would run at me, whose tusks yet by stepping a little out of the way I avoided, but he then turning upon me, the dogs came in, and drew him off, so that he fell upon them, which I perceiving, ran at the boar with my sword again, which made him turn upon me, but then the dogs pulled him from me again, while so relieving one another by turns, we killed the boar. At this chase Monsieur Disancourt and Mennon (? Menou) were present, as also Mr. Townsend; yet so as they did endeavor rather to withdraw me from, than assist me in the danger. Of which boar, some part being well seasoned and larded, I presented to my uncle Sir Francis Newport in Shropshire, and found most excellent meat.

When I had been at Merlou about some eight months, and attained, as was thought, the knowledge of horsemanship, I came to the Duke of Montmorency at St. Ilee,[4] and, after due thanks for his favors, took my leave of him to go to Paris; whereupon, the good old prince embracing me, and calling me son, bid me farewell, assuring me nevertheless he should be glad of any occasion hereafter to testify his love and esteem for me; telling me further, he should come to Paris himself shortly, where he hoped to see me. From hence I returned to Merlou, where I gave Monsieur Disancourt such a present as abundantly requited the charges of my diet, and the pains of his teaching. Being now ready to set forth, a gentleman from the Duke of Montmorency came to me, and told me his master would not let me go without giving me a present, which I might keep as an earnest of his affection; whereupon also a jennet, for which the Duke had sent ex-

[4] Probably a blunder of the transcriber for Chantilly.

pressly into Spain, and which cost him there five hundred crowns, as I was told, was brought to me. The greatness of this gift, together with other courtesies received, did not a little trouble me, as not knowing then how to requite them. I would have given my horses I had there, which were of great value to him, but that I thought them too mean a present: but the Duke also suspecting that I meant to do so, prevented me; saying, that as I loved him, I should think upon no requital, while I stayed in France, but when I came into England, if I sent him a mare that ambled naturally, I should much gratify him. I told the messenger I should strive both that way, and every way else, to declare my thankfulness, and thereupon I dismissed the messenger with a good reward.

Coming now to Paris, through the recommendation of the Lord Ambassador, I was received to the house of that incomparable scholar Isaac Casaubon, by whose learned conversation I much benefited myself; besides, I did apply myself much to know the use of my arms, and to ride the great horse, playing on the lute, and singing according to the rules of the French masters.

Sometimes also I went to the court of the French king, Henry IV., who, upon information of me in the garden at the Tuileries, received me with all courtesy, embracing me in his arms, and holding me some while there. I went sometimes also to the court of Queen Margaret at the Hostel, called by her name; and here I saw many balls or masks, in all which it pleased that Queen publicly to place me next to her chair, not without the wonder of some, and the envy of another, who was wont to have that favor. I shall recount one accident which happened while I was there.

All things being ready for the ball, and every one being in their place, and I myself next to the Queen, expecting when the dancers would come in, one knocked at the door somewhat louder than became, as I thought, a very civil person. When he came in, I remember there was a sudden whisper among the ladies, saying, *C'est Monsieur Balagny*, or, It is Monsieur Balagny; whereupon also I saw the ladies and gentlewomen one after another invite him to sit near them, and, which is more, when one lady had his company a while, another would

say, You have enjoyed him long enough, I must have him now; at which bold civility of theirs, though I were astonished, yet it added unto my wonder, that his person could not be thought at most but ordinary handsome; his hair, which was cut very short, half gray, his doublet but of sackcloth cut to his shirt, and his breeches only of plain gray cloth. Informing myself by some standers-by who he was, I was told that he was one of the gallantest men in the world, as having killed eight or nine men in single fight, and that for this reason the ladies made so much of him, it being the manner of all Frenchwomen to cherish gallant men, as thinking they could not make so much of any else with the safety of their honor. This cavalier, though his head was half gray, he had not yet attained the age of thirty years, whom I have thought fit to remember more particularly here, because of some passages that happened afterwards betwixt him and me, at the siege of Juliers, as I shall tell in its place.

Having passed thus all the winter, until about the latter end of January [1609], without any such memorable accident as I shall think fit to set down particularly, I took my leave of the French king, Queen Margaret, and the nobles and ladies in both courts; at which time the Princess of Conti desired me to carry a scarf into England, and present it to Queen Anne on her part, which being accepted, myself and Sir Thomas Lucy (whose second I had been twice in France, against two cavaliers of our nation, who yet were hindered to fight with us in the field, where we attended them), we came on our way as far as Dieppe in Normandy, and there took ship about the beginning of February, when so furious a storm arose, that with very great danger we were at sea all night.

The master of our ship lost both the use of his compass and his reason; for not knowing whither he was carried by the tempest, all the help he had was by the lightnings, which, together with thunder very frequently that night, terrified him, yet gave the advantage sometimes to discover whether we were upon our coast, to which he thought by the course of his glasses we were near approached. And now towards day we found ourselves, by great providence of God, within view of Dover, to which the master of our ship did make.

The men of Dover rising betimes in the morning to see whether any ship were coming towards them, were in great numbers upon the shore, as believing the tempest, which had thrown down barns and trees near the town, might give them the benefit of some wreck, if perchance any ship were driven thitherwards. We coming thus in extreme danger straight upon the pier of Dover, which stands out in the sea, our ship was unfortunately split against it; the master said, *Mes amies, nous sommes perdus;* or, My friends, we are cast away. When myself who heard the ship crack against the pier, and then found by the master's words it was time for every one to save themselves, if they could, got out of my cabin (though very sea-sick), and climbing up the mast a little way, drew my sword and flourished it; they at Dover having this sign given them, adventured in a shallop of six oars to relieve us, which being come with great danger to the side of our ship, I got into it first with my sword in my hand, and called for Sir Thomas Lucy, saying, that if any man offered to get in before him, I should resist him with my sword; whereupon a faithful servant of his taking Sir Thomas Lucy out of the cabin, who was half dead of sea-sickness, put him into my arms, whom after I had received, I bid the shallop make away for shore, and the rather that I saw another shallop coming to relieve us; when a post from France, who carried letters, finding the ship still rent more and more, adventured to leap from the top of our ship into the shallop, where falling fortunately on some of the stronger timber of the boat, and not on the planks, which he must needs have broken, and so sunk us, had he fallen upon them, escaped together with us two, unto the land. I must confess myself, as also the seamen that were in the shallop, thought once to have killed him for this desperate attempt; but finding no harm followed, we escaped together unto the land, from whence we sent more shallops, and so made means to save both men and horses that were in the ship, which yet itself was wholly split and cast away, insomuch that in pity to the master, Sir Thomas Lucy and myself gave thirty pounds towards his loss, which yet was not so great as we thought, since the tide now ebbing, he recovered the broken parts of his ship.

Coming thus to London, and afterwards to court, I kissed

his Majesty's hand, and acquainted him with some particulars concerning France. As for the present I had to deliver to her Majesty from the Princess of Conti, I thought fit rather to send it by one of the ladies that attended her, than to presume to demand audience of her in person: but her Majesty not satisfied herewith, commanded me to attend her, and demanded divers questions of me concerning that princess and the courts in France, saying she would speak more at large with me at some other time; for which purpose she commanded me to wait on her often, wishing me to advise her what present she might return back again.

Howbeit, not many weeks after, I returned to my wife and family again, where I passed some time, partly in my studies, and partly riding the great horse, of which I had a stable well furnished. No horse yet was so dear to me as the jennet I brought from France, whose love I had so gotten, that he would suffer none else to ride him, nor indeed any man to come near him, when I was upon him, as being in his nature a most furious horse; his true picture may be seen in the chapel chamber in my house, where I am painted riding him, and this motto by me,

> Me totum bonitas bonum suprema
> Reddas; me intrepidum dabo vel ipse.

This horse as soon as ever I came to the stable would neigh, and when I drew nearer him would lick my hand, and (when I suffered him) my cheek, but yet would permit nobody to come near his heels at the same time. Sir Thomas Lucy would have given me £200 for this horse, which, though I would not accept, yet I left the horse with him when I went to the Low Countries, who not long after died. The occasion of my going thither was thus: hearing that a war about the title of Cleves, Juliers, and some other provinces betwixt the Low Countries and Germany, should be made, by the several pretenders to it, and that the French king himself would come with a great army into those parts; it was now the year of our Lord 1610, when my Lord Chandos and myself resolved to take shipping for the Low Countries, and from thence to pass to the city of Juliers, which the Prince [Philip William] of Orange resolved to besiege. Making all haste

thither, we found the siege newly begun; the Low Country army assisted by 4,000 English under the command of Sir Edward Cecil. We had not been long there, when the Marshal de la Châtre, instead of Henry IV., who was killed by that villain Ravaillac, came with a brave French army thither, in which Monsieur Balagny, I formerly mentioned, was a colonel.

My Lord Chandos lodged himself in the quarters where Sir Horace Vere was; I went and quartered with Sir Edward Cecil, where I was lodged next to him in a hut I made there, going yet both by day and night to the trenches; we making our approaches to the town on one side, and the French on the other. Our lines were drawn towards the point of a bulwark of the citadel or castle, thought to be one of the best fortifications in Christendom, and encompassed about with a deep wet ditch. We lost many men in making these approaches, the town and castle being very well provided both with great and small shot, and a garrison in it of about 4,000 men, besides the burghers. Sir Edward Cecil (who was a very active general) used often, during the siege, to go in person in the night time, to try whether he could catch any sentinels *perdus;* and for this purpose still desired me to accompany him; in performing whereof, both of us did much hazard our lives, for the first sentinel retiring to the second, and the second to the third, three shots were commonly made at us, before we could do anything, though afterwards chasing them with our swords almost home unto their guards, we had some sport in the pursuit of them.

One day Sir Edward Cecil and myself coming to the approaches that Monsieur de Balagny had made towards a bulwark or bastion of that city, Monsieur de Balagny, in the presence of Sir Edward Cecil and divers English and French captains then present, said, *Monsieur, on dit que vous êtes un des plus braves de vôtre nation, et je suis Balagny, allons voir qui faira le mieux*—"They say you are one of the bravest of your nation, and I am Balagny, let us see who will do best;" whereupon leaping suddenly out of the trenches with his sword drawn, I did in the like manner as suddenly follow him, both of us in the meanwhile striving who should be foremost, which being perceived by those of the bulwark and

cortine [5] opposite to us, three or four hundred shot at least, great and small, were made against us. Our running on forwards in emulation of each other, was the cause that all the shots fell betwixt us and the trench from which we sallied. When Monsieur Balagny, finding such a storm of bullets, said, *Par Dieu il fait bien chaud*—"It is very hot here;" I answered briefly thus: *Vous en ires premier, autrement je n'iray jamais*—"You shall go first, or else I will never go;" hereupon he ran with all speed, and somewhat crouching, towards the trenches. I followed after leisurely and upright, and yet came within the trenches before they on the bulwark or cortine could charge again; which passage afterwards being related to the Prince of Orange, he said it was a strange bravado of Balagny, and that we went to an unavoidable death.

I could relate divers things of note concerning myself, during the siege; but do forbear, lest I should relish too much of vanity: it shall suffice, that my passing over the ditch unto the wall, first of all the nations there, is set down by William Crosse, master of arts, and soldier, who hath written and printed the history of the Low Countries.

There happened during this siege a particular quarrel betwixt me and the Lord of Walden, eldest son to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Treasurer of England at that time, which I do but unwillingly relate, in regard of the great esteem I have of that noble family; howbeit, to avoid misreports, I have thought fit to set it down truly. That Lord having been invited to a feast in Sir Horace Vere's quarters, where (after the Low Country manner) there was liberal drinking, returned not long after to Sir Edward Cecil's quarters, at which time I speaking merrily to him, upon some slight occasion, he took that offense at me, which he would not have done at another time, insomuch that he came towards me in a violent manner, which I perceiving, did more than half-way meet him; but the company were so vigilant upon us, that before any blow passed we were separated; howbeit, because he made towards me, I thought fit the next day to send him a challenge, telling him, that if he had anything to say to me, I

[5] Curtain—the name applied in fortification to the portion of a rampart situated between two bastions and uniting their flanks.

would meet him in such a place as no man should interrupt us. Shortly after this Sir Thomas Peyton came to me on his part, and told me my Lord would fight with me on horseback with single sword; "and," said he, " I will be his second; where is yours?" I replied, that neither his Lordship nor myself brought over any great horses with us; that I knew he might much better borrow one than myself: howbeit, as soon as he showed me the place, he should find me there on horseback or on foot; whereupon both of us riding together upon two geldings to the side of a wood, Peyton said he chose that place, and the time, break of day the next morning. I told him I would fail neither place nor time, though I knew not where to get a better horse than the nag I rid on; "and as for a second, I shall trust to your nobleness, who, I know, will see fair play betwixt us, though you come on his side." But he urging me again to provide a second, I told him I could promise for none but myself, and that if I spoke to any of my friends in the army to this purpose, I doubted lest the business might be discovered and prevented.

He was no sooner gone from me, but night drew on, myself resolving in the meantime to rest under a fair oak all night; after this, tying my horse by the bridle unto another tree, I had not now rested two hours, when I found some fires nearer to me than I thought was possible in so solitary a place; whereupon also having the curiosity to see the reason hereof, I got on horseback again, and had not rode very far, when by the talk of the soldiers there, I found I was in the Scotch quarter, where, finding in a stable a very fair horse of service, I desired to know whether he might be bought for any reasonable sum of money; but a soldier replying it was their captain's, Sir James Areskin's chief horse, I demanded for Sir James, but the soldier answering he was not within the quarter, I demanded then for his lieutenant, whereupon the soldier courteously desired him to come to me. This lieutenant was called Montgomery, and had the reputation of a gallant man; I told him that I would very fain buy a horse, and, if it were possible, the horse I saw but a little before; but he telling me none was to be sold there, I offered to leave in his hands 100 pieces, if he would lend me a good horse for a day or two, he to restore me the money again when I delivered him the

horse in good plight, and did besides bring him some present as a gratuity.

The lieutenant, though he did not know me, suspected I had some private quarrel, and that I desired this horse to fight on, and thereupon told me, "Sir, whosoever you are, you seem to be a person of worth, and you shall have the best horse in the stable; and if you have a quarrel and want a second, I offer myself to serve you upon another horse, and if you will let me go along with you upon these terms, I will ask no pawn of you for the horse." I told him I would use no second, and I desired him to accept 100 pieces, which I had there about me, in pawn for the horse, and he should hear from me shortly again; and that though I did not take his noble offer of coming along with me, I should evermore rest much obliged to him; whereupon giving him my purse with the money in it, I got upon his horse, and left my nag besides with him.

Riding thus away about twelve o'clock at night to the wood from whence I came, I alighted from my horse and rested there till morning; the day now breaking I got on horseback, and attended the Lord of Walden with his second. The first person that appeared with a footman, who I heard afterwards was sent by the Lady of Walden, who as soon as he saw me, ran back again with all speed; I meant once to pursue him, but that I thought it better at last to keep my place. About two hours after Sir William St. Leger, now Lord President of Munster, came to me, and told me he knew the cause of my being there, and that the business was discovered by the Lord Walden's rising so early that morning, and the suspicion that he meant to fight with me, and had Sir Thomas Peyton with him, and that he would ride to him, and that there were thirty or forty sent after us, to hinder us from meeting. Shortly after many more came to the place where I was, and told me I must not fight, and that they were sent for the same purpose, and that it was to no purpose to stay there, and thence rode to seek the Lord of Walden. I stayed yet two hours longer, but finding still more company came in, rode back again to the Scotch quarters, and delivered the horse back again, and received my money and nag from Lieutenant Montgomery, and so withdrew myself to the

French quarters, till I did find some convenient time to send again to the Lord Walden.

Being among the French, I remembered myself of the bravado of Monsieur Balagny, and coming to him, told him, I knew how brave a man he was, and that as he had put me to one trial of daring, when I was last with him in his trenches, I would put him to another; saying I heard he had a fair mistress, and that the scarf he wore was her gift, and that I would maintain I had a worthier mistress than he, and that I would do as much for her sake as he, or any else durst do for his. Balagny hereupon looking merrily upon me, said, "If we shall try who is the abler man to serve his mistress, let both of us get two wenches, and he that doth his business best, let him be the braver man;" and that, for his part, he had no mind to fight on that quarrel. I, looking hereupon somewhat disdainfully on him, said he spoke more like a paillard [a dissolute fellow] than a cavalier; to which he answering nothing, I rid my ways, and afterwards went to Monsieur Terant, a French gentleman that belonged to the Duke of Montmorency, formerly mentioned; who telling me he had a quarrel with another gentleman, I offered to be his second, but he saying he was provided already, I rode thence to the English quarters, attending some fit occasion to send again to the Lord Walden. I came no sooner thither, but I found Sir Thomas Somerset with eleven or twelve more in the head of the English, who were then drawing forth in a body or squadron, who seeing me on horseback, with a footman only that attended me, gave me some affronting words, for my quarreling with the Lord of Walden; whereupon I alighted, and giving my horse to my lacquey, drew my sword, which he no sooner saw, but he drew his, and also all the company with him. I running hereupon amongst them, put by some of their thrusts, and making towards him in particular, put by a thrust of his, and had certainly run him through, but that one Lieutenant Prichard, at that instant taking me by the shoulder, turned me aside; but I, recovering myself again, ran at him a second time, which he perceiving, retired himself with the company to the tents which were near, though not so fast but I hurt one Proger, and some others also that were with him. But they being all at last got within

the tents, I finding now nothing else to be done, got to my horse again, having received only a slight hurt on the outside of my ribs, and two thrusts, the one through the skirts of my doublet, and the other through my breeches, and about eighteen nicks upon my sword and hilt, and so rode to the trenches before Juliers, where our soldiers were.

Not long after this, the town being now surrendered, and everybody preparing to go their ways, I sent again a gentleman to the Lord of Walden to offer him the meeting with my sword; but this was avoided not very handsomely by him (contrary to what Sir Henry Rich, now Earl of Holland, persuaded him).

After having taken leave of his Excellency Sir Edward Cecil, I thought fit to return on my way homewards as far as Dusseldorf. I had been scarce two hours in my lodgings when one Lieutenant Hamilton brought a letter from Sir James Areskin (who was then in town likewise) unto me, the effect whereof was, that in regard his Lieutenant Montgomery had told him that I had the said James Areskin's consent for borrowing his horse, he did desire me to do one of two things, which was, either to disavow the said words, which he thought in his conscience I never spake, or if I would justify them, then to appoint time and place to fight with him. Having considered a while what I was to do in this case, I told Lieutenant Hamilton that I thought myself bound in honor to accept the more noble part of his proposition, which was to fight with him, when yet perchance it might be easy enough for me to say that I had his horse upon other terms than was affirmed; whereupon also giving Lieutenant Hamilton the length of my sword, I told him that as soon as ever he had matched it, I would fight with him, wishing him further to make haste, since I desired to end the business as speedily as could be. Lieutenant Hamilton hereupon returning back, met in a cross street (I know not by what miraculous adventure) Lieutenant Montgomery, conveying divers of the hurt and maimed soldiers at the siege of Juliers unto that town, to be lodged and dressed by the chirurgeons there; Hamilton hereupon calling to Montgomery, told him the effects of his captain's letter, together with my answer, which Montgomery no sooner heard, but he replied (as Hamilton

told me afterwards), "I see that noble gentleman chooseth rather to fight than to contradict me; but my telling a lie must not be an occasion why either my captain or he should hazard their lives: I will alight from my horse, and tell my captain presently how all that matter passed;" whereupon also he relating the business about borrowing the horse, in that manner I formerly set down, which as soon as Sir James Areskin heard, he sent Lieutenant Hamilton to me presently again, to tell me he was satisfied how the business passed, and that he had nothing to say to me, but that he was my most humble servant, and was sorry he ever questioned me in that manner.

Some occasions detaining me in Dusseldorf, the next day Lieutenant Montgomery came to me, and told me he was in danger of losing his place, and desired me to make means to his Excellency the Prince of Orange that he might not be cashiered, or else that he was undone. I told him that either I would keep him in his place, or take him as my companion and friend, and allow him sufficient means till I could provide him another as good as it; which he taking very kindly, but desiring chiefly he might go with my letter to the Prince of Orange, I obtained at last he should be restored to his place again.

And now taking boat, I passed along the river of Rhine to the Low Countries, where after some stay, I went to Antwerp and Brussels; and having passed some time in the court there, went from thence to Calais, where taking ship I arrived at Dover, and so went to London. I had scarce been two days there, when the Lords of the Council sending for me, ended the difference betwixt the Lord of Walden and myself. And now, if I may say it without vanity, I was in great esteem both in court and city; many of the greatest desiring my company, though yet before that time I had no acquaintance with them. Richard, Earl of Dorset, to whom otherwise I was a stranger, one day invited me to Dorset House, where bringing me into his gallery, and showing me many pictures, he at last brought me to a frame covered with green taffeta, and asked me who I thought was there; and therewithal presently drawing the curtain, showed me my own picture; whereupon demanding how his Lordship

came to have it, he answered, that he had heard so many brave things of me, that he got a copy of a picture which one Larkin a painter drew for me, the original whereof I intended before my departure to the Low Countries for Sir Thomas Lucy. But not only the Earl of Dorset, but a greater person[6] than I will here nominate, got another copy from Larkin, and placing it afterwards in her cabinet (without that ever I knew any such thing was done) gave occasion to those that saw it after her death, of more discourse than I could have wished; and indeed I may truly say, that taking of my picture was fatal to me, for more reasons than I shall think fit to deliver.

There was a lady also, wife to Sir John Ayres, Knight, who, finding some means to get a copy of my picture from Larkin, gave it to Mr. Isaac [Oliver] the painter in Blackfriars, and desired him to draw it in little after his manner; which being done, she caused it to be set in gold and enameled, and so wore it about her neck so low that she hid it under her breasts, which I conceive coming afterwards to the knowledge of Sir John Ayres, gave him more cause of jealousy than needed, had he known how innocent I was from pretending to anything which might wrong him or his lady; since I could not so much as imagine that either she had my picture, or that she bare more than ordinary affection to me. It is true, that as she had a place in court, and attended Queen Anne, and was beside of an excellent wit and discourse, she had made herself a considerable person; howbeit little more than common civility ever passed betwixt us, though I confess I think no man was welcomer to her when I came, for which I shall allege this passage:—

Coming one day into her chamber, I saw her through the curtains lying upon her bed with a wax candle in one hand, and the picture I formerly mentioned in the other. I coming thereupon somewhat boldly to her, she blew out the candle, and hid the picture from me; myself thereupon being curious to know what that was she held in her hand, got the candle to be lighted again, by means whereof I found it was my picture she looked upon with more earnestness and passion

[6] Probably Queen Anne. According to Lord Herbert's own account, the Queen repeatedly showed him special marks of favor.

than I could have easily believed, especially since myself was not engaged in any affection towards her: I could willingly have omitted this passage, but that it was the beginning of a bloody history which followed: Howsoever, yet I must before the Eternal God clear her honor. And now in court a great person [Queen Anne] sent for me divers times to attend her, which summons though I obeyed, yet God knoweth I declined coming to her as much as conveniently I could, without incurring her displeasure; and this I did not only for very honest reasons, but, to speak ingenuously, because that affection passed betwixt me and another lady (who I believe was the fairest of her time) as nothing could divert it. I had not been long in London, when a violent burning fever seized upon me, which brought me almost to my death, though at last I did by slow degrees recover my health; being thus upon my amendment, the Lord Lisle, afterwards Earl of Leicester, sent me word, that Sir John Ayres intended to kill me in my bed, and wished me to keep a guard upon my chamber and person; the same advertisement was confirmed by Lucy Countess of Bedford, and the Lady Hoby shortly after. Hereupon I thought fit to entreat Sir William Herbert, now Lord Powis, to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him, that I marveled much at the information given me by these great persons, and that I could not imagine any sufficient ground hereof; howbeit, if he had anything to say to me in a fair and noble way, I would give him the meeting as soon as I had got strength enough to stand upon my legs; Sir William hereupon brought me so ambiguous and doubtful an answer from him, that whatsoever he meant, he would not declare yet his intention, which was really, as I found afterwards, to kill me any way that he could, since, as he said, though falsely, I had whored his wife. Finding no means thus to surprise me, he sent me a letter to this effect; that he desired to meet me somewhere, and that it might so fall out as I might return quietly again. To this I replied, that if he desired to fight with me upon equal terms, I should, upon assurance of the field and fair play, give him meeting when he did any way specify the cause, and that I did not think fit to come to him upon any other terms, having been sufficiently informed of his plots to assassinate me.

After this, finding he could take no advantage against me, then in a treacherous way he resolved to assassinate me in this manner; hearing I was to come to Whitehall on horseback with two lacqueys only, he attended my coming back in a place called Scotland Yard, at the hither end of Whitehall, as you come to it from the Strand, hiding himself here with four men armed on purpose to kill me. I took horse at Whitehall Gate, and passing by that place, he being armed with a sword and dagger, without giving me so much as the least warning, ran at me furiously, but instead of me wounded my horse in the brisket, as far as his sword could enter for the bone; my horse hereupon starting aside, he ran him again in the shoulder, which though it made the horse more timorous, yet gave me time to draw my sword. His men thereupon encompassed me, and wounded my horse in three places more; this made my horse kick and fling in that manner as his men durst not come near me; which advantage I took to strike at Sir John Ayres with all my force, but he warded the blow both with his sword and dagger; instead of doing him harm, I broke my sword within a foot of the hilt. Hereupon some passenger that knew me, and observing my horse bleeding in so many places, and so many men assaulting me, and my sword broken, cried to me several times, "Ride away, ride away;" but I, scorning a base flight upon what terms soever, instead thereof alighted as well as I could from my horse. I had no sooner put one foot upon the ground, but Sir John Ayres pursuing me, made at my horse again, which the horse perceiving, pressed on me on the side I alighted, in that manner that he threw me down, so that I remained flat upon the ground, only one foot hanging in the stirrup, with that piece of a sword in my right hand. Sir John Ayres hereupon ran about the horse, and was thrusting his sword into me, when I, finding myself in this danger, did with both my arms reaching at his legs pull them towards me, till he fell down backwards on his head; one of my footmen hereupon, who was a little Shropshire boy, freed my foot out of the stirrup, the other, which was a great fellow, having run away as soon as he saw the first assault. This gave me time to get upon my legs, and to put myself in the best posture I could with that poor remnant of a weapon.

Sir John Ayres by this time likewise was got up, standing betwixt me and some part of Whitehall, with two men on each side of him, and his brother behind him, with at least twenty or thirty persons of his friends, or attendants of the Earl of Suffolk. Observing thus a body of men standing in opposition against me, though to speak truly I saw no swords drawn but by Sir John Ayres and his men, I ran violently against Sir John Ayres; but he, knowing my sword had no point, held his sword and dagger over his head, as believing I could strike rather than thrust, which I no sooner perceived but I put a home thrust to the middle of his breast, that I threw him down with so much force, that his head fell first to the ground, and his heels upwards. His men hereupon assaulted me, when one Mr. Mansel, a Glamorganshire gentleman, finding so many set against me alone, closed with one of them; a Scotch gentleman also closing with another, took him off also. All I could well do to those two which remained was to ward their thrusts, which I did with that resolution that I got ground upon them. Sir John Ayres was now got up a third time, when I making towards him with intention to close, thinking that there was otherwise no safety for me, put by a thrust of his with my left hand, and so coming within him, received a stab with his dagger on my right side, which ran down my ribs as far as my hip, which I feeling, did with my right elbow force his hand, together with the hilt of the dagger, so near the upper part of my right side, that I made him leave hold. The dagger now sticking in me, Sir Henry Cary, afterwards Lord of Falkland and Lord Deputy of Ireland, finding the dagger thus in my body, snatched it out.

This while I, being closed with Sir John Ayres, hurt him on the head, and threw him down a third time, when kneeling on the ground and bestriding him, I struck at him as hard as I could with my piece of a sword, and wounded him in four several places, and did almost cut off his left hand; his two men this while struck at me, but it pleased God even miraculously to defend me; for when I lifted up my sword to strike at Sir John Ayres, I bore off their blows half a dozen times. His friends now finding him in this danger, took him by the head and shoulders, and drew him from

betwixt my legs, and carried him along with them through Whitehall, at the stairs whereof he took boat. Sir Herbert Croft (as he told me afterwards) met him upon the water vomiting all the way, which I believe was caused by the violence of the first thrust I gave him. His servants, brother, and friends, being now retired also, I remained master of the place and his weapons; having first wrested his dagger from him, and afterwards struck his sword out of his hand.

This being done, I retired to a friend's house in the Strand, where I sent for a surgeon, who searching my wound on the right side, and finding it not to be mortal, cured me in the space of some ten days, during which time I received many noble visits and messages from some of the best in the kingdom. Being now fully recovered of my hurts, I desired Sir Robert Harley to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him, that though I thought he had not so much honor left in him, that I could be any way ambitious to get it, yet that I desired to see him in the field with his sword in his hand: the answer that he sent was, that I had whored his wife, and that he would kill me with a musket out of a window.

The Lords of the Privy Council, who had first sent for my sword, that they might see the little fragment of a weapon with which I had so behaved myself, as perchance the like had not been heard in any credible way, did afterwards command both him and me to appear before them; but I absenting myself on purpose, sent one Humphrey Hill with a challenge to him in an ordinary, which he refusing to receive, Humphrey Hill put it upon the point of his sword, and so let it fall plainly before him and the company then present.

The Lords of the Privy Council had now taken order to apprehend Sir John Ayres; when I, finding nothing else to be done, submitted myself likewise to them. Sir John Ayres had now published everywhere, that the ground of his jealousy, and consequently of his assaulting me, was drawn from the confession of his wife the Lady Ayres. She, to vindicate her honor, as well as free me from this accusation, sent a letter to her aunt the Lady Crook, to this purpose: That her husband Sir John Ayres did lie falsely, in saying that I ever whored her; but most falsely of all did lie when he

said he had it from her confession, for she had never said any such thing.

This letter the Lady Crook presented to me most opportunely as I was going to the Council table before the Lords, who having examined Sir John Ayres concerning the cause of his quarrel against me, found him still persist in his wife's confession of the fact; and now he being withdrawn, I was sent for, when the Duke of Lennox, afterwards of Richmond, telling me that was the ground of his quarrel, and the only excuse he had for assaulting me in that manner; I desired his Lordship to peruse the letter, which I told him was given me as I came into the room. This letter being publicly read by a clerk of the Council, the Duke of Lennox then said, that he thought Sir John Ayres the most miserable man living; for his wife had not only given him the lie, as he found by her letter, but his father had disinherited him for attempting to kill me in that barbarous fashion, which was most true, as I found afterwards. For the rest, that I might content myself with what I had done, it being more almost than could be believed, but that I had so many witnesses thereof; for all which reasons, he commanded me, in the name of his Majesty and all their Lordships, not to send any more to Sir John Ayres, nor to receive any message from him, in the way of fighting, which commandment I observed. Howbeit I must not omit to tell, that some years afterwards, Sir John Ayres, returning from Ireland by Beaumaris, where I then was, some of my servants and followers broke open the doors of the house where he was, and would, I believe, have cut him into pieces, but that I hearing thereof, came suddenly to the house and recalled them, sending him word also, that I scorned to give him the usage he gave me, and that I would set him free out of the town; which courtesy of mine, as I was told afterwards, he did thankfully acknowledge.

About a month after that Sir John Ayres attempted to assassinate me, the news thereof was carried, I know not how, to the Duke of Montmorency, who presently dispatched a gentleman with a letter to me, which I keep, and a kind offer, that if I would come unto him, I should be used as his own son; neither had this gentleman, as I know of, any other business in England. I was told besides by this gentleman,

that the Duke heard I had greater and more enemies than did publicly declare themselves, which indeed was true, and that he doubted I might have a mischief before I was aware.

My answer hereunto by letter was, That I rendered most humble thanks for his great favor in sending to me; that no enemies, how great or many soever, could force me out of the kingdom; but if ever there were occasion to serve him in particular, I should not fail to come; for performance whereof, it happening there were some overtures of a civil war in France the next year, I sent over a French gentleman who attended me unto the Duke of Montmorency, expressly to tell him, that if he had occasion to use my service in the designed war, I would bring over 100 horse at my own cost and charges to him, which that good old Duke and Constable took so kindly, that, as the Duchess of Ventadour his daughter, told me afterwards, when I was ambassador, there were few days till the last of his life that he did not speak of me with much affection.

I can say little more memorable concerning myself from the year 1611, when I was hurt, until the year of our Lord 1614, than that I passed my time sometimes in the court, where (I protest before God) I had more favors than I desired, and sometimes in the country, without any memorable accident; but only that it happened one time going from St. Julian's to Abergavenny, in the way to Montgomery Castle, Richard Griffiths, a servant of mine, being come near a bridge over Usk, not far from the town, thought fit to water his horse, but the river being deep and strong in that place where he entered it, he was carried down the stream. My servants that were before me seeing this, cried aloud Dick Griffiths was drowning, which I no sooner heard, but I put spurs to my horse, and coming up to the place, where I saw him as high as his middle in water, leapt into the river a little below him, and swimming up to him, bore him up with one of my hands, and brought him unto the middle of the river, where (through God's great providence) was a bank of sand. Coming hither, not without some difficulty, we rested ourselves, and advised whether it were better to return back unto the side from whence we came, or to go on forwards; but Dick Griffiths saying we were sure to swim if we returned

back, and that perchance the river might be shallow the other way, I followed his counsel, and putting my horse below him, bore him up in the manner I did formerly, and swimming through the river, brought him safe to the other side.

The year 1614 was now entering, when I understood that the Low Country and Spanish army would be in the field that year; this made me resolve to offer my service to the Prince of Orange, who upon my coming did much welcome me, not suffering me almost to eat anywhere but at his table, and carrying me abroad the afternoon in his coach, to partake of those entertainments he delighted in when there was no pressing occasion. The Low-Country army being now ready, his Excellency prepared to go into the field; in the way to which he took me in his coach, and sometimes in a wagon after the Low-Country fashion, to the great envy of the English and French chief commanders, who expected that honor. Being now arrived near Emmerich, one with a most humble petition came from a monastery of nuns, most humbly desiring that the soldiers might not violate their honor nor their monastery, whereupon I was a most humble suitor to his Excellency to spare them, which he granted; but, said he, we will go and see them ourselves; and thus his Excellency, and I and Sir Charles Morgan only, not long after going to the monastery, found it deserted in great part. Having put a guard upon this monastery, his Excellency marched with his army on till we came near the city of Emmerich, which upon summoning yielded. And now leaving a garrison here, we resolved to march toward Rees; this place having the Spanish army, under the command of Monsieur Spinola, on the one side, and the Low-Country army on the other, being able to resist neither, sent word to both armies, that which soever came first should have the place. Spinola hereupon sent word to his Excellency, that if we intended to take Rees, he would give him battle in a plain near before the town. His Excellency, nothing astonished hereat, marched on, his pioneers making his way for the army still, through hedges and ditches, till he came to that hedge and ditch which was next the plain; and here drawing his men into battle, resolved to attend the coming of Spinola into the field. While his men were putting in order, I was so desirous to see

whether Spinola with his army appeared, I leaped over a great hedge and ditch, attended only with one footman, purposing to change a pistol-shot or two with the first I met. I found thus some single horse in the field, who, perceiving me to come on, rid away as fast as they could, believing perchance that more would follow me; having thus passed to the further end of the field, and finding no show of the enemy, I returned back that I might inform his Excellency there was no hope of fighting as I could perceive.

In the meantime, his Excellency having prepared all things for battle, sent out five or six scouts to discover whether the enemy were come according to promise; these men finding me now coming towards them, thought I was one of the enemies, which being perceived by me, and I as little knowing at that time who they were, rode up with my sword in my hand, and pistol, to encounter them; and now being come within reasonable distance, one of the persons there that knew me told his fellows who I was, whereupon I passed quietly to his Excellency and told him what I had done, and that I found no appearance of an army: his Excellency then caused the hedge and ditch before him to be leveled, and marched in front with his army into the middle of the field, from whence sending some of his forces to summon the town, it yielded without resistance.

Our army made that haste to come to the place appointed for the battle, that all our baggage and provision were left behind, in so much that I was without any meat, but what my footman spared me out of his pocket; and my lodging that night was no better, for extreme rain falling at that time in the open field, I had no shelter, but was glad to get on the top of a wagon which had straw in it, and to cover myself with my cloak as well as I could, and so endure that stormy night. Morning being come, and no enemy appearing, I went to the town of Rees, into which his Excellency having now put a garrison, marched on with the rest of his army towards Wezel, before which Spinola with his army lay, and in the way entrenched himself strongly, and attended Spinola's motions. For the rest, nothing memorable happened after this, betwixt those two great generals, for the space of many weeks.

I must yet not omit with thankfulness to remember a favor his Excellency did me at this time; for a soldier having killed his fellow soldier, in the quarter where they were lodged, which is an unpardonable fault, insomuch that no man would speak for him; the poor fellow comes to me, and desires me to beg his life of his Excellency; whereupon I demanding whether he had ever heard of a man pardoned in this kind, and he saying no, I told him it was in vain then for me to speak; when the poor fellow writhing his neck a little, said, "Sir, but were it not better you shall cast away a few words, than I lose my life?" This piece of eloquence moved me so much, that I went straight to his Excellency, and told him what the poor fellow had said, desiring him to excuse me, if upon these terms I took the boldness to speak for him. There was present at that time the Earl of Southampton, as also Sir Edward Cecil, and Sir Horace Vere, as also Monsieur de Châtillon, and divers other French commanders; to whom his Excellency turning himself said in French, "Do you see this cavalier, with all that courage you know, hath yet that good nature to pray for the life of a poor soldier? Though I had never pardoned any before in this kind, yet I will pardon this at his request." So commanding him to be brought me, and disposed of as I thought fit, whom therefore I released and set free.

It was now so far advaneed in autumn, both armies thought of retiring themselves into their garrisons. It happened about this time that Sir Henry Wotton mediated a peace by the king's command,[7] who coming for that purpose to Wezel, I took occasion to go along with him into Spinola's army, whence after a night's stay, I went on an extreme rainy day through the woods to Kysarswert, to the great wonder of mine host, who said all men were robbed or killed that went that way. From hence I went to Cologne, where, among other things, I saw the monastery of St. Herbert; from hence I went to Heidelberg, where I saw the Prince and Princess

[7] Sir Henry Wotton, English ambassador at Venice, on the part of James I., and an ambassador from France arranged at Xanten a pacification, 2d Nov., 1614, between the two claimants to the disputed duchies (see Dumont—Corps Diplomatique, v. pt. ii. 259). But neither Spinola nor Maurice would accept it, and the former straightway seized Wezel. The war was continued in the following year.

Palatine, from whom having received much good usage, I went to Ulm, and so to Augsbourg, where extraordinary honor was done me; for coming into an inn where an ambassador from Brussels lay, the town sent twenty great flagons of wine thither, whereof they gave eleven to the ambassador, and nine to me; and withal some such compliments that I found my fame had prevented my coming thither.

From hence I went through Switzerland to Trent, and from thence to Venice, where I was received by the English ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, with much honor; among other favors showed me, I was brought to see a nun in Murano, who being an admirable beauty, and together singing extremely well, was thought one of the rarities not only of that place but of the time; we came to a room opposite unto the cloister, whence she coming on the other side of the grate betwixt us, sung so extremely well, that when she departed, neither my lord ambassador nor his lady, who were then present, could find as much as a word of fitting language to return her, for the extraordinary music she gave us; when I, being ashamed that she should go back without some testimony of the sense we had both of the harmony of her beauty and her voice, said in Italian, *"Moria pur quando vuol, non bisogna mutar ni voce ni facia per esser un angelo"* (Die whensoever you will, you will neither need to change voice, nor face, to be an angel): these words it seemed were fatal, for going thence to Rome, and returning shortly afterward, I heard she was dead in the meantime.

From Venice, after some stay, I went to Florence, where I met the Earl of Oxford and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd. Having seen the rarities of this place likewise, and particularly that rare chapel made for the house of Medici, beautified on all the inside with a coarser kind of precious stone, as also that nail which was at one end iron, and the other gold, made so by virtue of a tincture into which it was put, I went to Siena, and from thence, a little before the Christmas holidays, to Rome. I was no sooner alighted at my inn, but I went straight to the English College, where demanding for the regent or master thereof, a grave person not long after appeared at the door, to whom I spake in this manner: "Sir, I need not tell you my country when you hear my language;

I come not here to study controversies, but to see the antiquities of the place; if without scandal to the religion in which I was born and bred up, I may take this liberty, I should be glad to spend some convenient time here; if not, my horse is yet unsaddled, and myself willing to go out of town." The answer returned by him to me was, that he never heard anybody before me profess himself of any other religion than what was used in Rome; for his part, he approved much my freedom, as collecting thereby I was a person of honor; for the rest, that he could give me no warrant for my stay there, howbeit that experience did teach that those men who gave no affronts to the Roman Catholic religion, received none; whereupon also he demanded my name. I telling him I was called Sir Edward Herbert, he replied, that he had heard men oftentimes speak of me both for learning and courage, and presently invited me to dinner; I told him that I took his courteous offer as an argument of his affection; that I desired him to excuse me, if I did not accept it; the uttermost liberty I had (as the times then were in England) being already taken in coming to that city only, lest they should think me a facetious person. I thought fit to tell him that I conceived the points agreed upon on both sides are greater bonds of amity betwixt us, than that the points disagreed on could break them; that for my part I loved everybody that was of a pious and virtuous life, and thought the errors on what side soever, were more worthy pity than hate; and having declared myself thus far, I took my leave of him courteously, and spent about a month's time in seeing the antiquities of that place, which first found means to establish so great an empire over the persons of men, and afterwards over their consciences, the articles of confession and absolving sinners being a greater *arcanum imperii* for governing the world, than all the arts invented by statists formerly were.

After I had seen Rome sufficiently, I went to Tivoli, anciently called Tibur, and saw the fair palace and garden there, as also Frascati, anciently called Tusculanum. After that I returned to Rome, and saw the Pope in consistory, which being done, when the Pope being now ready to give his blessing, I departed thence suddenly; which gave such a

suspicion of me, that some were sent to apprehend me, but I going a byway escaped them, and went to my inn to take horse, where I had not been now half an hour, when the master or regent of the English College telling me that I was accused in the Inquisition, and that I could stay no longer with any safety, I took this warning very kindly; howbeit I did only for the present change my lodging, and a day or two afterwards took horse, and went out of Rome towards Siena, and from thence to Florence. I saw Sir Robert Dudley, who had the title of Earl or Duke of Northumberland given him by the Emperor, and handsome Mrs. Sudel [Southwell], whom he carried with him out of England, and was there taken for his wife. I was invited by them to a great feast the night before I went out of town; taking my leave of them both, I prepared for my journey the next morning. When I was ready to depart, a messenger came to me, and told me if I would accept the same pension Sir Robert Dudley had, being two thousand ducats per annum, the Duke would entertain me for his service in the war against the Turks. This offer, whether procured by the means of Sir Robert Dudley, Mrs. Sudel [Southwell], or Sigr. Loty, my ancient friend, I know not, being thankfully acknowledged as a great honor, was yet refused by me, my intention being to serve his Excellency [Count Maurice of Nassau] in the Low-Country war.

After I had stayed a while, from hence I went by Ferrara and Bologna towards Padua, in which university having spent some time to hear the learned readers, and particularly Cremonini, I left my English horses and Scotch saddles there, for on them I rid all the way from the Low Countries, I went by boat to Venice. The Lord Ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, by this time had a command to reside a while in the court of the Duke of Savoy, wherewith also his Lordship acquainted me, demanding whether I would go thither; this offer was gladly accepted by me, both as I was desirous to see that court, and that it was in the way to the Low Country, where I meant to see the war the summer ensuing.

Coming thus in the coach with my Lord Ambassador to Milan, the governor thereof invited my Lord Ambassador to his house, and sometimes feasted him during his stay there.

Here I heard that famous nun singing to the organ in this manner; another nun beginning first to sing, performed her part so well, that we gave her much applause for her excellent art and voice; only we thought she did sing somewhat lower than other women usually did; hereupon also being ready to depart, we heard suddenly, for we saw nobody, that nun which was so famous, sing an eight higher than the other had done: her voice was the sweetest, strongest, and clearest, that ever I heard, in the using whereof also she showed that art as ravished us into admiration.

From Milan we went to Novara, as I remember, where we were entertained by the governor, being a Spaniard, with one of the most sumptuous feasts that ever I saw, being but of nine dishes, in three several services; the first whereof was, three ollas podridas, consisting of all choice boiled meats, placed in three large silver chargers, which took up the length of a great table; the meat in it being heightened up artificially, pyramid wise, to a sparrow which was on the top. The second service was like the former, of roast meat, in which all manner of fowl from the pheasant and partridge, to other fowl less than them, were heightened up to a lark. The third was in sweet-meats dry of all sorts, heightened in like manner to a round comfit.

From hence we went to Vercelli, a town of the Duke of Savoy's, frontier to the Spaniard, with whom the Duke was then in war; from whence, passing by places of least note, we came to Turin, where the Duke of Savoy's court was. After I had refreshed myself here some two or three days, I took leave of my Lord Ambassador with intention to go to the Low Countries, and was now upon the way thither, as far as the foot of Mount Cenis, when the Count Scarnafissi came to me from the Duke, and brought a letter to this effect: That the Duke had heard I was a cavalier of great worth, and desirous to see the wars, and that if I would serve him I should make my own conditions. Finding so courteous an invitation, I returned back, and was lodged by the Duke of Savoy in a chamber furnished with silk and gold hangings, and a very rich bed, and defrayed at the Duke's charges in the English ambassador's house. The Duke also confirmed unto me what the Count Scarnafissi had said, and together

bestowed divers compliments on me. I told his Highness, that when I knew in what service he pleased to employ me, he should find me ready to testify the sense I had of his princely invitation.

It was now in the time of Carnival, when the Duke, who loved the company of ladies and dancing as much as any prince whosoever, made divers masks and balls, in which his own daughters, among divers other ladies, danced; and here it was his manner to place me always with his own hand near some fair lady, wishing us both to entertain each other with some discourse, which was a great favor among the Italians. He did many other ways also declare the great esteem he had of me without coming to any particular, the time of the year for going into the field being not yet come; only he exercised his men often, and made them ready for his occasions in the spring.

The Duke at last resolving how to use my service, thought fit to send me to Languedoc in France, to conduct 4000 men of the reformed religion, who had promised their assistance in his war, unto Piedmont. I willingly accepted this offer; so taking my leave of the Duke, and bestowing about £70 or £80 among his officers, for the kind entertainment I had received, I took my leave also of my Lord Ambassador, and Sir Albertus Morton, who was likewise employed there, and prepared for my journey, for more expedition of which I was desired to go post. An old Scotch knight of the Sandilands hearing this, desired to borrow my horses as far as Heidelberg, which I granted, on condition that he would use them well by the way, and give them good keeping in that place afterwards.

The Count Scarnafissi was commanded to bear me company in this journey, and to carry with him some jewels, which he was to pawn in Lyons in France, and with the money gotten for them to pay the soldiers above nominated; for though the Duke had put extreme taxations on his people, insomuch that they paid not only a certain sum for every horse, ox, cow, or sheep that they kept, but afterwards for every chimney; and, finally, every single person by the poll, which amounted to a pistole, or 14s. a-head or person, yet he wanted money; at which I did not so much wonder as at

the patience of his subjects, of whom I demanded how they could bear their taxations? I have heard some of them answer, "We are not so much offended with the Duke for what he takes from us, as thankful for what he leaves us."

The Count Scarnafissi and I, now setting forth, rid post all day without eating or drinking by the way, the Count telling me still we should come to a good inn at night. It was now twilight when the Count and I came near a solitary inn, on the top of a mountain; the hostess hearing the noise of horses, came out with a child new born on her left arm, and a rush candle in her hand: she presently knowing the Count de Scarnafissi, told him, "Ah, Signor, you are come in a very ill time, the Duke's soldiers have been here to-day, and have left me nothing." I looked sadly upon the Count, when he coming near to me whispered me in the ear, and said, "It may be she thinks we will use her as the soldiers have done: go you into the house, and see whether you can find anything; I will go round about the house, and perhaps I shall meet with some duck, hen, or chicken;" entering thus into the house, I found for all other furniture of it, the end of an old form, upon which sitting down, the hostess came towards me with a rush candle, and said, "I protest before God that is true which I told the Count, here is nothing to eat; but you are a gentleman, methinks it is pity you should want; if you please I will give you some milk out of my breasts, into a wooden dish I have here." This unexpected kindness made that impression on me, that I remember I was never so tenderly sensible of anything. My answer was, "God forbid I should take away the milk from the child I see in thy arms; howbeit, I shall take it all my life for the greatest piece of charity that ever I heard of;" and therewithal, giving her a pistole, or a piece of gold of 14s., Scarnafissi and I got on horseback again and rid another post, and came to an inn, where we found very coarse cheer, yet hunger made us relish it.

From hence I went straight to Lyons. Entering the gate, the guards there, after their usual manner, demanded of me who I was, whence I came, and whither I went? to which, while I answered, I observed one of them look very attentively upon me, and then again upon a paper he had in his

hand; this having been done divers times, bred in me a suspicion that there was no good meaning in it, and I was not deceived in my conjecture; for the Queen-mother of France having newly made an edict, that no soldiers should be raised in France, the Marquis de Rambouillet, French ambassador at Turin, sent word of my employment to the Marquis de St. Chaumont, then governor of Lyons, as also a description of my person. This edict was so severe, as they who raised any men were to lose their heads. In this unfortunate conjuncture of affairs, nothing fell out so well on my part, as that I had not raised as yet any men; howbeit, the guards requiring me to come before the governor, I went with them to a church where he was at vespers; this while I walked in the lower part of the church, little imagining what danger I was in had I levied any men. I had not walked there long, when a single person came to me, appareled in a black stuff suit, without any attendants upon him, when I, supposing this person to be any man rather than the governor, saluted him without much ceremony. His first question was, whence I came? I answered, from Turin. He demanded then, whither I would go? I answered, I was not yet resolved. His third question was, what news at Turin? to which I answered, that I had no news to tell, as supposing him to be only some busy or inquisitive person. The Marquis hereupon called one of the guards that conducted me thither, and after he had whispered something in his ear, wished me to go along with him, which I did willingly, as believing this man would bring me to the governor. This man silently leading me out of the church, brought me to a fair house, into which I was no sooner entered, but he told me I was commanded to prison there by him I saw in the church, who was the governor; I replied, I did not know him to be governor, nor that that was a prison, and that if I were out of it again, neither the governor nor all the town could bring me to it alive. The master of the house hereupon spoke me very fair, and told me he would conduct me to a better chamber than any I could find in an inn, and thereupon conducted me to a very handsome lodging not far from the river. I had not been here half an hour when Sir Edward Sackville (now Earl of Dorset) hearing only that an Englishman was committed,

sent to know who I was, and why I was imprisoned. The governor not knowing whether to lay the fault upon my short answers to him, or my commission to levy men contrary to the Queen's edict, made him so doubtful an answer, (after he had a little touched upon both) as he dismissed him unsatisfied.

Sir Edward Sackville hereupon coming to the house where I was, as soon as ever he saw me embraced me, saying, "Ned Herbert, what doest thou here?" I answered, "Ned Sackville, I am glad to see you, but I protest I know not why I am here." He again said, "Hast thou raised any men yet for the Duke of Savoy?" I replied, "Not so much as one." "Then," said he, "I will warrant thee, though I must tell thee the governor is much offended at thy behavior and language in the church; (I replied it was impossible for me to imagine him to be governor that came without a guard, and in such mean clothes as he then wore). I will go to him again, and tell him what you say, and doubt not but you shall be suddenly freed." Hereupon returning to the governor, he told of what family I was, and of what condition, and that I had raised no men, and that I knew him not to be governor; whereupon the Marquis wished him to go back, that he would come in person to free me out of the house.

This message being brought me by Sir Edward Sackville, I returned this answer only: That it was enough if he sent order to free me. While these messages passed, a company of handsome young men and women, out of I know not what civility, brought music under the window and danced before me, looking often up to see me; but Sir Edward Sackville being now returned with order to free me, I only gave them thanks out of the window, and so went along with them to the governor. Being come into a great hall where his lady was, and a large train of gentlewomen and other persons, the governor, with his hat in his hand, demanded of me whether I knew him? when his noble lady, answering for me, said, How could he know you, when you were in the church alone, and in this habit, being for the rest wholly a stranger to you? which civility of hers, though I did not presently take notice of it, I did afterwards most thankfully acknowledge when I was ambassador in France. The governor's next

questions were the very same he made when he met me in the church; to which I made the very same answers before them all, concluding that as I did not know him, he could think it no incongruity if I answered in those terms: the governor yet was not satisfied herewith, and his noble lady taking my part again, gave him those reasons for my answering him in that manner, that they silenced him from speaking any further. The governor turning back, I likewise, after an humble obeisance made to his lady, returned with Sir Edward Sackville to my lodgings.

This night I passed as quietly as I could, but the next morning advised with him what I was to do; I told him I had received a great affront, and that I intended to send him a challenge, in such courteous language, that he could not refuse it: Sir Edward Sackville by all means dissuaded me from it; by which I perceived I was not to expect his assistance in any way therein, and indeed the next day he went out of town.

Being alone now, I thought on nothing more than how to send him a challenge, which at last I penned to this effect: That whereas he had given me great offense, without a cause, I thought myself bound as a gentleman to resent it, and therefore desired to see him with his sword in his hand in any place he should appoint; and hoped he would not interpose his authority as an excuse for not complying with his honor on this occasion, and that so I rested his humble servant.

Finding nobody in town for two or three days by whom I might send this challenge, I resolved for my last means to deliver it in person, and observe how he took it, intending to right myself as I could, when I found he stood upon his authority.

This night it happened that Monsieur Terant, formerly mentioned, came to the town; this gentleman knowing me well, and remembering our acquaintance both at France and Juliers, wished there were some occasion for him to serve me; I presently hereupon, taking the challenge out of my pocket, told him he would oblige me extremely if he were pleased to deliver it, and that I hoped he might do it without danger, since I knew the French to be so brave a nation, that they

would never refuse or dislike anything that was done in an honorable and worthy way.

Terant took the challenge from me, and after he had read it, told me that the language was civil and discreet; nevertheless he thought the governor would not return me that answer I expected; howsoever, said he, I will deliver it. Returning thus to my inn, and intending to sleep quieter that night than I had done three nights before; about one of the clock after midnight, I heard a great noise at my door, which awakened me, certain persons knocking so hard as if they would break it; besides, through the chinks thereof I saw light. This made me presently rise in my shirt, when, drawing my sword, I went to the door, and demanded who they were; and together told them that if they came to make me prisoner, I would rather die with my sword in my hand; and therewithal opening the door, I found upon the stairs half a dozen men armed with halberts, whom I no sooner prepared to resist, but the chief of them told me, that they came not to me from the governor, but from my good friend the Duke of Montmorency, son to the Duke I formerly mentioned, and that he came to town late that night, in his way from Languedoc (of which he was governor) to Paris; and that he desired me, if I loved him, to rise presently and come to him, assuring me further that this was most true; hereupon wishing them to retire themselves, I dressed myself, and went with them. They conducted me to the great hall of the governor, where the Duke of Montmorency, and divers other cavaliers, had been dancing with the ladies; I went presently to the Duke of Montmorency, who, taking me a little aside, told me that he had heard of the passages betwixt the governor and me, and that I had sent him a challenge; howbeit, that he conceived men in his place were not bound to answer as private persons for those things they did by virtue of their office; nevertheless, that I should have satisfaction in as ample manner as I could reasonably desire. Hereupon, bringing me with him to the governor, he freely told me that now he knew who I was, he could do no less than assure me that he was sorry for what was done, and desired me to take this for satisfaction; the Duke of Montmorency hereupon said presently, *C'est assez;* it is enough. I then turning to

him, demanded whether he would have taken this satisfaction in the like case? He said, yes. After this, turning to the governor, I demanded the same question, to which he answered, that he would have taken the same satisfaction, and less too. I kissing my hand, gave it him, who embraced me, and so this business ended.

After some compliments passed between the Duke of Montmorency, who remembered the great love his father bore me, which he desired to continue in his person, and putting me in mind also of our being educated together for a while, demanded whether I would go with him to Paris? I told him that I was engaged to the Low Countries, but that wheresoever I was I should be his most humble servant.

My employment with the Duke of Savoy in Languedoc being thus ended, I went from Lyons to Geneva, where I found also my fame had prevented [anticipated] my coming; for the next morning after my arrival, the state taking notice of me, sent a messenger in their name to congratulate my being there, and presented me with some flagons of wine, desiring me (if I stayed there any while) to see their fortifications, and give my opinion of them; which I did, and told them I thought they were weakest where they thought themselves the strongest; which was on the hilly part, where indeed they had made great fortifications; yet as it is a rule in war, that whatsoever may be made by art may be destroyed by art again, I conceived they had need to fear the approach of an enemy on that part rather than any other. They replied, that divers great soldiers had told them the same; and that they would give the best order they could to serve themselves on that side.

Having rested here some while to take physic (my health being a little broken with long travel) I departed, after a fortnight's stay, to Basle, where taking a boat upon the river, I came at length to Strasbourg, and from thence went to Heidelberg, where I was received again by the Prince Elector and Princess with much kindness, and viewed at leisure the fair library there, the gardens, and other rarities of that place; and here I found my horses I lent to Sandilands in good plight, which I then bestowed upon some servants of the Prince, in way of retribution for my welcome thither.

From hence Sir George Calvert, and myself went by water, for the most part, to the Low Countries, where taking leave of each other, I went straight to his Excellency, who did extraordinarily welcome me, insomuch that it was observed that he did never outwardly make so much of any one as myself.

It happened this summer that the Low-Country army was not drawn into the field, so that the Prince of Orange passed his time at playing at chess with me after dinner; or in going to Ryswick with him to see his great horses; or in making love; in which also he used me as his companion, yet so that I saw nothing openly, more than might argue a civil familiarity. When I was at any time from him, I did by his good leave endeavor to raise a troop of horse for the Duke of Savoy's service, as having obtained a commission to that purpose for my brother William, then an officer in the Low Country. Having these men in readiness, I sent word to the Count Scarnafissi thereof, who was now ambassador in England, telling him, that if he would send money, my brother was ready to go.

Scarnafissi answered me, that he expected money in England, and that as soon as he received it, he would send over so much as would pay an hundred horse. But a peace betwixt him and the Spaniard being concluded not long after at Asti, the whole charge of keeping this horse fell upon me, without ever to this day receiving any recompense.

Winter now approaching, and nothing more to be done for that year, I went to the Brill to take shipping for England. Sir Edward Conway, who was then governor at that place, and afterward Secretary of State, taking notice of my being there, came to me, and invited me every day to come to him, while I attended only for a wind; which serving at last for my journey, Sir Edward Conway conducted me to the ship, into which as soon as I was entered he caused six pieces of ordnance to be discharged for my farewell. I was scarce gone a league into the sea, when the wind turned contrary, and forced me back again. Returning thus to the Brill, Sir Edward Conway welcomed me as before; and now, after some three or four days, the wind serving, he conducted me again to the ship, and bestowed six volleys of ordnance upon me. I was now about halfway to England, when a most cruel

storm arose, which tore our sails and spent our masts, insomuch that the master of our ship gave us all for lost, as the wind was extreme high, and together contrary; we were carried at last, though with much difficulty, back again to the Brill, where Sir Edward Conway did congratulate my escape; saying, he believed certainly, that (considering the weather) I must needs be cast away.

After some stay here with my former welcome, the wind being now fair, I was conducted again to my ship by Sir Edward Conway, and the same volleys of shot given me, and was now scarce out of the haven, when the wind again turned contrary, and drove me back. This made me resolve to try my fortune here no longer; hiring a small bark, therefore, I went to the sluice, and from thence to Ostend, where finding company, I went to Brussels. In the inn where I lay, here an ordinary was kept, to which divers noblemen and principal officers of the Spanish army resorted: sitting among these at dinner, the next day after my arrival, no man knowing me, or informing himself who I was, they fell into discourse of divers matters, in Italian, Spanish, and French; and at last three of them, one after another, began to speak of King James, my master, in a very scornful manner; I thought with myself then, that if I was a base fellow, I need not take any notice thereof, since no man knew me to be an Englishman, or that I did so much as understand their language; but my heart burning within me, I, putting off my hat, arose from the table, and turning myself to those that sat at the upper end, who had said nothing to the King my master's prejudice, I told them in Italian, *Son Inglese;* "I am an Englishman; and should be unworthy to live if I suffered these words to be spoken of the King my master;" and therewithal turning myself to those who had injured the King, I said, "You have spoken falsely, and I will fight with you all." Those at the upper end of the table, finding I had so much reason on my part, did sharply check those I questioned, and, to be brief, made them ask the King's forgiveness, wherewith also the King's health being drank round about the table, I departed thence to Dunkirk, and thence to Gravelines, where I saw, though unknown, an English gentlewoman enter into a nunnery there. I went thence to

Calais; it was now extreme foul weather, and I could find no master of a ship willing to adventure to sea; howbeit, my impatience was such, that I demanded of a poor fisherman there whether he would go? he answered, his ship was worse than any in the haven, as being open above, and without any deck, besides, that it was old; but, saith he, "I care for my life as little as you do, and if you will go, my boat is at your service."

I was now scarce out of the haven, when a high grown sea had almost overwhelmed us, the waves coming in very fast into our ship, which we laded out again the best we could; notwithstanding which, we expected every minute to be cast away: it pleased God yet before we were gone six leagues into the sea, to cease the tempest, and give us a fair passage over to the Downs, where, after giving God thanks for my delivery from this most needless danger that ever I did run, I went to London. I had not been here ten days when a quartan ague seized on me, which held me for a year and a half without intermission, and a year and a half longer at spring and fall: the good days I had during all this sickness, I employed in study, the ill being spent in as sharp and long fits as I think ever any man endured, which brought me at last to be so lean and yellow, that scarce any man did know me.

It happened during this sickness, that I walked abroad one day towards Whitehall, where, meeting with one Emerson, who spoke very disgraceful words of Sir Robert Harley, being then my dear friend, my weakness could not hinder me to be sensible of my friend's dishonor; shaking him therefore by a long beard he wore, I stepped a little aside, and drew my sword in the street; Captain Thomas Scriven, a friend of mine, being not far off on one side, and divers friends of his on the other side. All that saw me wondered how I could go, being so weak and consumed as I was, but much more that I would offer to fight; howsoever, Emerson, instead of drawing his sword, ran away into Suffolk House, and afterwards informed the Lords of the Council of what I had done; who not long after sending for me, did not so much reprehend my taking part with my friend, as that I would adventure to fight, being in such a bad condition of health. Before I came

wholly out of my sickness, Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, came into the King's favor; this cavalier meeting me accidentally at the Lady Stanhope's house, came to me, and told me he had heard so much of my worth, as he would think himself happy if, by his credit with the King, he could do me any service; I humbly thanked him, but told him, that for the present I had need of nothing so much as of health, but that if ever I had ambition, I should take the boldness to make my address by him.

I was no sooner perfectly recovered of this long sickness, but the Earl of Oxford and myself resolved to raise two regiments for the service of the Venetians. While we were making ready for this journey, the King having an occasion to send an ambassador into France, required Sir George Villiers to present him with the names of the fittest men for that employment that he knew; whereupon eighteen names, among which mine was, being written in a paper, were presented to him; the King presently chose me, yet so as he desired first to have the approbation of his Privy Council, who, confirming his Majesty's choice, sent a messenger to my house among gardens, near the Old Exchange, requiring me to come presently to them. Myself little knowing then the honor intended me, asked the messenger whether I had done any fault, that the Lords sent for me so suddenly? wishing him to tell the Lords that I was going to dinner, and would afterwards attend them. I had scarce dined when another messenger was sent; this made me hasten to Whitehall, where I was no sooner come, but the Lords saluted me by the name of Lord Ambassador of France; I told their Lordships thereupon, that I was glad it was no worse, and that I doubted, that by their speedy sending for me, some complaint, though false, might be made against me.

My first commission was to renew the oath of alliance between the two crowns, for which purpose I was Extraordinary Ambassador, which being done, I was to reside there as ordinary. I had received now about six or seven hundred pounds, toward the charges of my journey, and locked it in certain coffers in my house; when the night following, about one of the clock, I could hear divers men speak and knock at the door, in that part of the house where none did lie but my-

self, my wife, and her attendants, my servants being lodged in another house not far off: as soon as I heard the noise, I suspected presently they came to rob me of my money; howsoever, I thought fit to rise, and go to the window to know who they were; the first word I heard was, "Darest thou come down, Welshman?" which I no sooner heard, but, taking a sword in one hand, and a little target in the other, I did in my shirt run down the stairs, open the doors suddenly, and charged ten or twelve of them with that fury that they ran away, some throwing away their halberts, others hurting their fellows to make them go faster in a narrow way they were to pass; in which disordered manner I drove them to the middle of the street by the Exchange, where finding my bare feet hurt by the stones I trod on, I thought fit to return home, and leave them to their flight. My servants, hearing the noise, by this time were got up, and demanded whether I would have them pursue those rogues that fled away; but I answering that I thought they were out of their reach, we returned home together.

I was now almost ready for my journey, and had received already as choice a company of gentlemen for my attendants, as I think ever followed an ambassador; when some of my private friends told me, that I was not to trust so much to my pay from the Exchequer, but that it was necessary for me to take letters of credit with me, for as much money as I could well procure. Informing myself hereupon who had furnished the last ambassador, I was told Monsieur Savage, a Frenchman: coming to his house, I demanded whether he would help me with moneys in France, as he had done the last ambassador; he said he did not know me, but would inform himself better who I was; departing thus from him, I went to Sigr. Burlamacchi, a man of great credit in those times, and demanded of him the same; his answer was, that he knew me to be a man of honor, and I had kept my word with everybody; whereupon also going to his study, gave me a letter of credit to one Monsieur de Langherac in Paris, for £2000 sterling: I then demanded what security he expected for this money? he said, he would have nothing but my promise; I told him he had put a great obligation upon me, and that I would strive to acquit myself of it the best I could.

Having now a good sum of money in my coffers, and this letter of credit, I made ready for my journey; the day I went out of London I remember was the same in which Queen Anne was carried to burial, which was a sad spectacle to all that had occasion to honor her. My first night's journey was to Gravesend, where being at supper in my inn, Monsieur Savage formerly mentioned came to me, and told me, that whereas I had spoken to him for a letter of credit, he had made one which he thought would be to my contentment. I demanded to whom it was directed; he said to Monsieur Tallemant and Rambouillet, in Paris; I asked then what they were worth? he said, above one hundred thousand pounds sterling; I demanded for how much this letter of credit was? he said, for as much as I should have need of: I asked what security he required? he said, nothing but my word, which he had heard was inviolable.

From Gravesend, by easy journeys I went to Dover, where I took shipping, with a train of an hundred and odd persons, and arrived shortly after at Calais, where I remember my cheer was twice as good as at Dover, and my reckoning half as cheap. From whence I went to Boulogne, Monstreville, Abbeville, Amiens, and in two days thence, to St. Denis near Paris, where I was met with a great train of coaches that were sent to receive me, as also by the master of the ceremonies, and Monsieur Mennon, my fellow scholar, with Monsieur Disancourt, who then kept an academy, and brought with him a brave company of gentlemen on great horses, to attend me into town.

It was now somewhat late when I entered Paris, upon a Saturday night; I was but newly settled in my lodging, when a secretary of the Spanish ambassador there told me that his Lord desired to have the first audience from me, and therefore requested he might see me the next morning; I replied, it was a day I gave wholly to devotion, and therefore entreated him to stay till some more convenient time: the secretary replied, that his master did hold it no less holy; howbeit, that his respect to me was such, that he would prefer the desire he had to serve me before all other considerations; howsoever I put him off till Monday following.

Not long after, I took a house in Fauburg St. Germain Rue

Tournon, which cost me £200 sterling yearly; having furnished the house richly, and lodged all my train, I prepared for a journey to Tours and Touraine, where the French court then was: being come hither in extreme hot weather, I demanded audience of the King and Queen, which being granted, I did assure the King of the great affection the King my master bore him, not only out of the ancient alliance betwixt the two crowns, but because Henry the Fourth and the King my master had stipulated with each other, that whensoever any one of them died, the survivor should take care of the other's child: I assured him further, that no charge was so much imposed upon me by my instructions, as that I should do good offices betwixt both kingdoms; and therefore that it were a great fault in me, if I behaved myself otherwise than with all respect to his Majesty: this being done, I presented to the King a letter of credence from the King my master; the King assured me of a reciprocal affection to the King my master, and of my particular welcome to his court. His words were never many, as being so extreme a stutterer, that he would sometimes hold his tongue out of his mouth a good while before he could speak so much as one word. He had besides a double row of teeth, and was observed seldom or never to spit or blow his nose, or to sweat much, though he were very laborious, and almost indefatigable in his exercises of hunting and hawking, to which he was much addicted; neither did it hinder him, though he was burst in his body, as we call it, or herniosus; for he was noted in those sports, though oftentimes on foot, to tire not only his courtiers, but even his lacqueys, being equally insensible, as was thought, either of heat or cold. His understanding and natural parts were as good as could be expected in one that was brought up in so much ignorance, which was on purpose so done that he might be the longer governed; howbeit, he acquired in time a great knowledge in affairs, as conversing for the most part with wise and active persons. He was noted to have two qualities incident to all who were ignorantly brought up—suspicion and dissimulation; for as ignorant persons walk so much in the dark, they cannot be exempt from fear of stumbling; and as they are likewise deprived of, or deficient in those true principles by which they should

govern both public and private actions in a wise, solid, and demonstrative way, they strive commonly to supply these imperfections with covert arts, which, though it may be sometimes excusable in necessitous persons, and be indeed frequent among those who negotiate in small matters, yet condemnable in princes, who, proceeding upon foundations of reason and strength, ought not to submit themselves to such poor helps: howbeit, I must observe, that neither his fears did take away his courage, when there was occasion to use it, nor his dissimulation extend itself to the doing of private mischiefs to his subjects, either of one or the other religion; his favorite was one Monsieur de Luynes, who in his nonage gained much upon the King, by making hawks fly at all little birds in his gardens, and by making some of those little birds again catch butterflies; and had the King used him for no other purpose, he might have been tolerated; but as, when the King came to a riper age, the government of public affairs was drawn chiefly from his counsels, not a few errors were committed.

The Queen-mother, princes, and nobles of that kingdom, repined that his advices to the King should be so prevalent, which also at last caused a civil war in that kingdom. How unfit this man was for the credit he had with the King may be argued by this; that when there was question made about some business in Bohemia, he demanded whether it was an inland country, or lay upon the sea? And thus much for the present of the King and his favorite.

After my audience with the King, I had another from the Queen, being sister to the King of Spain; I had little to say unto her, but some compliments on the King my master's part, but such compliments as her sex and quality were capable of. This Queen was exceedingly fair, like those of the house of Austria, and together of so mild and good a condition, she was never noted to have done ill offices to any, but to have mediated as much as was possible for her, in satisfaction of those who had any suit to the King, as far as their cause would bear. She had now been married divers years, without having any children, though so ripe for them, that nothing seemed to be wanting on her part. I remember her the more particularly, that she showed publicly at my au-

diences that favor to me, as not only my servants, but divers others took notice of it.

After this my first audience, I went to see Monsieur de Luynes, and the principal ministers of state, as also the princes and princesses, and ladies then in the court, and particularly the Princess of Conti, from whom I carried the scarf formerly mentioned; and this is as much as I shall declare in this place concerning my negotiation with the King and state, my purpose being, if God sends me life, to set them forth apart, as having the copies of all my despatches in a great trunk, in my house in London; and considering that in the time of my stay there, there were divers civil wars in that country, and that the prince, now King, passed with my Lord of Buckingham, and others, through France into Spain; and the business of the Elector Palatine in Bohemia, and the battle of Prague, and divers other memorable accidents, both of state and war, happened during the time of my employment; I conceive a narration of them may be worth the seeing, to them who have it not from a better hand; I shall only therefore relate here, as they come into my memory, certain little passages, which may serve in some part to declare the history of my life.

Coming back from Tours to Paris, I gave the best order I could concerning the expenses of my house, family, and stable, that I might settle all things as near as was possible in a certain course, allowing, according to the manner of France, so many pounds of beef, mutton, veal, and pork, and so much also in turkeys, capons, pheasants, partridges, and all other fowls, as also pies and tarts, after the French manner, and after also this, a dozen dishes of sweetmeats every meal constantly. The ordering of these things was the heavier to me, that my wife flatly refused to come over into France, as being now entered into a dropsy, which also had kept her without children for many years: I was constrained therefore to make use of a steward, who was understanding and diligent, but no very honest man; my chief secretary was William Boswell, now the King's agent in the Low Countries; my secretary for the French tongue was one Monsieur Ozier, who afterwards was the King's agent in France. The gentleman of my horse was Monsieur de Meny, who after-

wards commanded a thousand horse, in the wars of Germany, and proved a very gallant gentleman. Mr. Crofts was one of my principal gentlemen, and afterwards made the King's Cup-bearer; and Thomas Caage, that excellent wit, the King's Carver; Edmund Taverner, whom I made my under secretary, was afterwards chief secretary to the Lord Chamberlain; and one Mr. Smith, secretary to the Earl of Northumberland; I nominate these, and could many more, that came to very good fortunes afterwards, because I may verify that which I said before concerning the gentlemen that attended me.

When I came to Paris, the English and French were in very ill intelligence with each other, insomuch that one Buckly coming then to me, said he was assaulted and hurt upon Pontneuf, only because he was an Englishman: nevertheless, after I had been in Paris about a month, all the English were so welcome thither, that no other nation was so acceptable amongst them, insomuch, that my gentlemen having a quarrel with some debauched French, who in their drunkenness quarreled with them, divers principal gentlemen of that nation offered themselves to assist my people with their swords.

It happened one day that my cousin, Oliver Herbert, and George Radney, being gentlemen who attended me, and Henry Whittingham, my butler, had a quarrel with some French, upon I know not what frivolous occasion. It happened my cousin, Oliver Herbert, had for his opposite a fencer, belonging to the Prince of Condé, who was dangerously hurt by him in divers places; but as the house, or hostel, of the Prince of Condé was not far off, and himself well beloved in those quarters the French in great multitudes arising, drove away the three above mentioned into my house, pursuing them within the gates; I perceiving this at a window, ran out with my sword, which the people no sooner saw, but they fled again as fast as ever they entered. Howsoever, the Prince of Condé, his fencer, was in that danger of his life, that Oliver Herbert was forced to fly France, which, that he might do the better, I paid the said fencer 200 crowns, or £60 sterling, for his hurt and cures.

The plague now being hot in Paris, I desired the Duke of Montmorency to lend me the castle of Merlou, where I lived

in the time of his most noble father, which he willingly granted. Removing thither, I enjoyed that sweet place and country, wherein I found not a few that welcomed me out of their ancient acquaintance.

On the one side of me was the Baron de Montaterre of the reformed religion, and Monsieur de Bouteville on the other, who, though young at that time, proved afterwards to be that brave cavalier which all France did so much celebrate. In both their castles, likewise, were ladies of much beauty and discretion, and particularly a sister of Bouteville, thought to be one of the chief perfections of the time, whose company yielded some divertisement, when my public occasions did suffer it.

Winter being now come, I returned to my house in Paris, and prepared for renewing the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which, as I said formerly, I had an extraordinary commission; nevertheless the King put off the business to as long a time as he well could. In the meanwhile Prince Henry of Nassau, brother to Prince Maurice, coming to Paris, was met and much welcomed by me, as being obliged to him no less than to his brother in the Low Countries. This Prince, and all his train, were feasted by me at Paris with one hundred dishes, costing, as I remember, in all £100.

The French King at last resolving upon a day for performing the ceremony, betwixt the two crowns above mentioned, myself and all my train put ourselves into that sumptuous equipage, that I remember it cost me one way or another above £1000. And truly the magnificence of it was such, as a little French book was presently printed thereof. This being done, I resided here in the quality of an ordinary ambassador.

And now I shall mention some particular passages concerning myself, without entering yet any way into the whole frame and context of my negotiation, reserving them, as I said before, to a particular treatise. I spent my time much in the visits of the princes, council of state, and great persons of the French kingdom, who did ever punctually requite my visits. The like I did also to the chief ambassadors there, among whom the Venetian, Low Country, Savoy, and the united princes in Germany, ambassadors, did bear me that

respect, that they usually met in my house, to advise together concerning the great affairs of that time: For as the Spaniard then was so potent that he seemed to affect an universal monarchy, all the above-mentioned ambassadors did, in one common interest, strive to oppose him. All our endeavors yet could not hinder, but that he both publicly prevailed in his attempts abroad, and privately did corrupt divers of the principal ministers of state in this kingdom. I came to discover this by many ways, but by none more effectually than by the means of an Italian, who returned over, by letters of exchange, the moneys the Spanish ambassador received for his occasions in France; for I perceived that when the said Italian was to receive any extraordinary great sum for the Spanish ambassador's use, the whole face of affairs was presently changed, insomuch that neither my reasons, nor the ambassadors above mentioned, how valid soever, could prevail: though yet afterwards we found means together, to reduce affairs to their former train; until some other new great sum coming to the Spanish ambassador's hand, and from thence to the aforesaid ministers of state, altered all.

Howbeit divers visits passed betwixt the Spanish ambassador and myself; in one of which he told me, that though our interests were diverse, yet we might continue friendship in our particular persons; for, said he, it can be no occasion of offense betwixt us, that each of us strive the best he can to serve the King his master. I disliked not his reasons, though yet I could not omit to tell him, that I would maintain the dignity of the King my master the best I could: And this I said, because the Spanish ambassador had taken place of the English, in the time of Henry IV., in this fashion: They both meeting in an antechamber to the secretary of state, the Spanish ambassador, leaning to the wall in that posture that he took the hand of the English ambassador, said publicly, I hold this place in the right of the King my master; which small punctilio being not resented by our ambassador at that time, gave the Spaniard occasion to brag, that he had taken the hand from our ambassador. This made me more watchful to regain the honor which the Spaniard pretended to have gotten herein; so that though the ambassador, in his visits, often repeated the words above mentioned, be-

ing in Spanish, *Que cada uno haga lo que pudiere por su amo,* "Let every man do the best he can for his master," I attended the occasion to right my master.

It happened one day, that both of us going to the French King for our several affairs, the Spanish ambassador, between Paris and Estampes, being upon his way before me in his coach, with a train of about sixteen or eighteen persons on horseback, I following him in my coach, with about ten or twelve horse, found that either I must go the Spanish pace, which is slow, or if I hastened to pass him, that I must hazard the suffering of some affront like unto that our former ambassador received; proposing hereupon to my gentlemen the whole business, I told them that I meant to redeem the honor of the King my master some way or other, demanding further, whether they would assist me? which they promising, I bid the coachman drive on. The Spanish ambassador seeing me approach, and imagining what my intention was, sent a gentleman to me, to tell me he desired to salute me; which I accepting, the gentleman returned to the ambassador, who, alighting from his coach, attended me in the middle of the highway; which being perceived by me I alighted also, when, some extravagant compliments having passed betwixt us, the Spanish ambassador took his leave of me, went to a dry ditch not far off, upon pretense of making water, but indeed to hold the upper hand of me while I passed by in my coach; which being observed by me, I left my coach, and getting upon a spare horse I had there, rode into the said dry ditch, and telling him aloud, that I knew well why he stood there, bid him afterwards get to his coach, for I must ride that way: the Spanish ambassador, who understood me well, went to his coach grumbling and discontented, though yet neither he nor his train did any more than look one upon another, in a confused manner; my coach this while passing by the ambassador on the same side I was, I shortly after left my horse and got into it. It happened this while, that one of my coach-horses having lost a shoe, I thought fit to stay at a smith's forge, about a quarter of a mile before; this shoe could not be put on so soon, but that the Spanish ambassador overtook us, and might indeed have passed us, but that he thought I would give him another affront. Attending, there-

fore, the smith's leisure, he stayed in the highway, to our no little admiration, until my horse was shod. We continued our journey to Estampes, the Spanish ambassador following us still at a good distance.

I should scarce have mentioned this passage, but that the Spaniards do so much stand upon their pundonores; for confirming whereof I have thought fit to remember the answer a Spanish ambassador made to Philip II. king of Spain, who, finding fault with him for neglecting a business of great importance in Italy, because he could not agree with the French ambassador about some such pundonore as this, said to him, *Como a dexado una cosa di importancia per una ceremonia!*—"How have you left a business of importance for a ceremony!" The ambassador boldly replied to his master, *Como por una ceremonia? Vuessa Majesta misma no es sino una ceremonia.*—"How, for a ceremony? your Majesty's self is but a ceremony."

Howsoever, the Spanish ambassador taking no notice publicly of the advantage I had of him herein, dissembled it, as I heard, till he could find some fit occasion to resent this passage, which yet he never did to this day.

Among the visits I rendered to the grandees of France, one of the principal I made was to that brave general the Duke of Lesdigueres, who was now grown very old and deaf. His first words to me were, "Monsieur, you must do me the honor to speak high, for I am deaf;" my answer to him was, "You were born to command and not to obey; it is enough if others have ears to hear you." This compliment took him much, and indeed I have a manuscript of his military precepts and observations, which I value at a great price.

I shall relate now some things concerning myself, which, though they may seem scarce credible, yet, before God, are true: I had been now in France about a year and a half, when my tailor, Andrew Henly of Basel, who now lives in Blackfriars, demanded of me half a yard of satin, to make me a suit, more than I was accustomed to give; of which I required a reason, saying I was not fatter now than when I came to France. He answered, it was true, but you are taller; whereunto, when I would give no credit, he brought his old measures, and made it appear that they did not reach

to their just places. I told him I knew not how this happened; but howsoever he should have half a yard more, and that when I came to England I would clear the doubt; for a little before my departure thence, I remember William Earl of Pembroke and myself did measure heights together at the request of the Countess of Bedford, and he was then higher than I by about the breadth of my little finger. At my return, therefore, into England, I measured again with the same Earl, and, to both our great wonders, found myself taller than he by the breadth of a little finger: which growth of mine I could attribute to no other cause but to my quartan ague formerly mentioned, which, when it quitted me, left me in a more perfect health than I formerly enjoyed, and indeed disposed me to some follies which I afterwards repented, and do still repent of; but as my wife refused to come over, and my temptations were great, I hope the faults I committed are the more pardonable. Howsoever I can say truly, that, whether in France or England, I was never in a bawdy-house, nor used my pleasures intemperately, and much less did accompany them with that dissimulation and falsehood which is commonly found in men addicted to love women. To conclude this passage, which I unwillingly mention, I must protest again, before God, that I never delighted in that or any other sin; and that if I transgressed sometimes in this kind, it was to avoid a greater ill; for certainly if I had been provided with a lawful remedy, I should have fallen into no extravagancy. I could extenuate my fault by telling circumstances which would have operated, I doubt, upon the chastest of mankind; but I forbear, those things being not fit to be spoken of; for though the philosophers have accounted this act to be *inter honesta factu,* where neither injury nor violence was offered, yet they ever reckoned it among the *turpia dictu.* I shall, therefore, only tell some other things alike strange of myself.

I weighed myself in balances often with men lower than myself by the head, and in their bodies slenderer, and yet was found lighter than they, as Sir John Davers, knight, and Richard Griffiths, now living, can witness, with both whom I have been weighed. I had also, and have still, a pulse on the crown of my head. It is well known to those that wait in my

chamber, that the shirts, waistcoats, and other garments I wear next my body, are sweet, beyond what either easily can be believed, or hath been observed in any else, which sweetness also was found to be in my breath above others, before I used to take tobacco, which, toward my latter time, I was forced to take against certain rheums and catarrhs that trouble me, which yet did not taint my breath for any long time; I scarce ever felt cold in my life, though yet so subject to catarrhs, that I think no man ever was more obnoxious to it; all which I do in a familiar way mention to my posterity, though otherwise they might be thought scarce worth the writing.

The effect of my being sent into France by the King my master, being to hold all good intelligence betwixt both crowns, my employment was both noble and pleasing, and my pains not great, France having no design at that time upon England, and King James being that pacific prince all the world knew. And thus, besides the times I spent in treaties and negotiations I had either with the ministers of state in France, or foreign ambassadors residing in Paris, I had spare time not only for my book, but for visits to divers grandees, for little more ends than obtaining some intelligence of the affairs of that kingdom and civil conversation, for which their free, generous, and cheerful company was no little motive; persons of all quality being so addicted to have mutual entertainment with each other, that in calm weather one might find all the noble and good company in Paris, of both sexes, either in the garden of the Tuileries, or in the park of Bois de Vincennes; they thinking it almost an incivility to refuse their presence and free discourse to any who were capable of coming to those places, either under the recommendation of good parts, or but so much as handsome clothes, and a good equipage. When foul weather was, they spent their time in visits at each other's houses, where they interchanged civil discourses, or heard music, or fell to dancing, using, according to the manner of that country, all the reasonable liberties they could with their honor, while their manner was, either in the garden of the Tuileries, or elsewhere, if any one discoursing with a lady did see some other of good fashion approach to her, he would

leave her and go to some other lady, he who conversed with her at that time quitting her also, and going to some other, that so addresses might be made equal and free to all without scruple on any part, neither was exception made, or quarrel begun, upon these terms.

It happened one day, that I being ready to return from the Tuileries, about eight of the clock in the summer, with intention to write a dispatch to the King about some intelligence I had received there, the Queen, [Anne of Austria], attended with her principal ladies, without so much as one cavalier, did enter the garden: I staid on one side of an alley, there to do my reverence to her and the rest, and so return to my house, when the Queen perceiving me, staid a while, as if she expected I should attend her: but as I stirred not more than to give her that great respect I owed her, the Princess of Conti, who was next, called me to her, and said I must go along with her, but I excusing myself upon occasion of a present dispatch which I was to make unto his Majesty, the Duchess of Antador, who followed her, came to me, and said I must not refuse her: whereupon, leading her by her arms, according to the manner of that country, the Princess of Conti, offended that I had denied her that civility which I had yielded to another, took me off, after she had demanded the consent of the Duchess: but the Queen then also staying, I left the Princess, and, with all due humility, went to the Queen, and led her by the arms, walking thus to a place in the garden where some orange trees grew, and here discoursing with her Majesty bareheaded, some small shot fell on both our heads. The occasion whereof was this: the King being in the garden, and shooting at a bird in the air, which he did with much perfection, the descent of his shot fell just upon us: the Queen was much startled herewith, when I, coming nearer to her, demanded whether she had received any harm: to which she answering no, and therewith taking two or three small pellets from her hair, it was thought fit to send a gardener to the King, to tell him that her Majesty was there, and that he should shoot no more that way, which was no sooner heard among the nobles that attended him, but many of them leaving him, came to the Queen and ladies, among whom was Monsieur

le Grand, who, finding the Queen still discoursing with me, stole behind her, and letting fall gently some comfits he had in his pocket upon the Queen's hair, gave her occasion to apprehend that some shot had fallen on her again: turning hereupon to Monsieur le Grand, I said that I marveled that so old a courtier as he was could find no means to entertain ladies but by making them afraid; but the Queen shortly after returning to her lodging, I took my leave of her, and came home. All which passage I have thought fit to set down, the accident above-mentioned being so strange, that it can hardly be paralleled.

It fell out one day that the Prince of Condé coming to my house, some speech happened concerning the King my master, in whom, though he acknowledged much learning, knowledge, clemency, and divers other virtues, yet he said he had heard that the King was much given to cursing; I answered that it was out of his gentleness; but the Prince demanding how cursing could be a gentleness, I replied, "Yes, for though he could punish men himself, yet he left them to God to punish:" which defense of the King my master was afterwards much celebrated in the French court.

Monsieur de Luynes continuing still the King's favorite, advised him to war against his subjects of the reformed religion in France, saying, he would neither be a great prince as long as he suffered so puissant a party to remain within his dominions, nor could justly style himself the most Christian king, as long as he permitted such heretics to be in that great number they were, or to hold those strong places which by public edict were assigned to them: and therefore that he should extirpate them as the Spaniards had done the Moors, who are all banished into other countries, as we may find in their histories. This counsel, though approved by the young King, was yet disliked by other grave and wise persons about him, and particularly by the Chancellor Sillery, and the President Jannin, who thought, better to have a peace which had two religions, than a war that had none. Howbeit, the design of Luynes was applauded, not only by the Jesuit party in France, but by some princes, and other martial persons, insomuch that the Duke of Guise coming to see me one day, said, that they should never

be happy in France, until those of the religion were rooted out: I answered, that I wondered to hear him say so: and the Duke demanding why, I replied, that whensoever those of the religion were put down, the turn of the great persons, and governors of provinces of that kingdom, would be next: and that, though the present King were a good prince, yet that their successors may be otherwise, and that men did not know how soon princes might prove tyrants, when they had nothing to fear: which speech of mine was fatal, since those of the religion were no sooner reduced into that weak condition in which now they are, but the governors of provinces were brought lower, and curbed much in their power and authority, and the Duke of Guise first of them all: so that I doubt not but my words were well remembered. Howsoever, the war now went on with much fervor: neither could I dissuade it, although using, according to the instructions I had from the King my master, many arguments for that purpose. I was told often, that if the reformation in France had been like that in England, where, they observed, we retained the hierarchy, together with decent rites and ceremonies in the church, as also holidays in the memory of saints, music in churches, and divers other testimonies, both of glorifying God, and giving honor and reward to learning, they could much better have tolerated it; but such a rash and violent reformation as theirs was, ought by no means to be approved; whereunto I answered, that, though the causes of departing from the Church of Rome were taught and delivered by many sober and modest persons, yet that the reformation in great part was acted by the common people, whereas ours began at the prince of state, and therefore was more moderate: which reason I found did not displease them. I added further then, that the reformed religion in France would easily enough admit an hierarchy, if they had sufficient means among them to maintain it, and that if their churches were as fair as those which the Roman Catholics had, they would use the more decent sorts of rites and ceremonies, and together like well of organs and choirs of singers, rather than make a breach or schism on that occasion.

As for holidays, I doubted not but the principal persons

and ministers of their religion would approve it much better than the common people, who, being laborers, and artisans for the most part, had the advantages for many more days than the Roman Catholics for getting their living: howsoever, that those of the religion had been good cautions to make the Roman Catholic priests, if not better, yet at least more wary in their lives and actions: it being evident that since the reformation began among those of the religion, the Roman Catholics had divers ways reformed themselves, and abated not only much of their power they usurped over laics, but were more pious and continent than formerly. Lastly, that those of the religion acknowledged solely the King's authority in government of all affairs: whereas the other side held the regal power, not only inferior in divers points, but subordinate to the papal. Nothing of which yet served to divert Monsieur de Luynes, or the King, from their resolutions.

The King having now assembled an army, and made some progress against those of the religion, I had instruction sent me from the King my master to mediate a peace, and if I could not prevail therein, to use some such words as may both argue his Majesty's care of them of the religion, and together, to let the French King know that he would not permit their total ruin and extirpation. The King was now going to lay siege to St. Jean d'Angely, when myself was newly recovered of a fever at Paris, in which, besides the help of many able physicians, I had the comfort of divers visits from many principal grandees of France, and particularly the Princess of Conti, who would sit by my bedside two or three hours, and with cheerful discourse entertain me, though yet I was brought so low, that I could scarce return anything by way of answer but thanks. The command yet which I received from the King my master quickened me, insomuch that, by slow degrees I went into my coach, together with my train, towards St. Jean d'Angely.

Being arrived within a small distance of that place, I found by divers circumstances, that the effect of my negotiation had been discovered from England, and that I was not welcome thither; howbeit, having obtained an audience from the King, I exposed what I had in charge to say to him, to

which yet I received no other answer but that I should go to Monsieur de Luynes, by whom I should know his Majesty's intention. Repairing thus to him, I did find outwardly good reception, though yet I did not know how cunningly he proceeded to betray and frustrate my endeavors for those of the religion; for, hiding a gentleman, called Monsieur Arnaud, behind the hangings in his chamber, who was then of the religion, but had promised a revolt to the King's side, this gentleman, as he himself confessed afterwards to the Earl of Carlisle, had in charge to relate unto those of the religion, how little help they might expect from me, when he should tell them the answers of Monsieur de Luynes.

Sitting thus in a chair near Monsieur de Luynes, he demanded the effect of my business; I answered, that the King my master commanded me to mediate a peace betwixt his Majesty and his subjects of the religion, and that I desired to do it in all those fair and equal terms, which might stand with the honor of France, and the good intelligence betwixt the two kingdoms: to which he returned this rude answer only, "What hath the King your master to do with our actions? why doth he meddle with our affairs?" My reply was, that the King my master ought not to give an account of the reason which induced him hereunto, and for me it was enough to obey him; howbeit, if he did ask me in more gentle terms, I should do the best I could to give him satisfaction; to which, though he answered no more than the word *bien*, or well, I, pursuing my instruction, said that the King my master, according to the mutual stipulation betwixt Henry the Fourth and himself, that the survivor of either of them should procure the tranquillity and peace of the other's estate, had sent this message; and that he had not only testified this his pious inclination heretofore, in the late civil wars of France, but was desirous on this occasion also to show how much he stood affected to the good of the kingdom; besides, he hoped that when peace was established here, that the French King might be the more easily disposed to assist the Palatine, who was an ancient friend and ally of the French crown. His reply to this was, "We will have none of your advices:" whereupon I said, that I took those words for an answer, and was sorry only that they did not

understand sufficiently the affection and good will of the King my master; and since they rejected it upon those terms, I had in charge to tell him, that we knew very well that we had to do. Luynes seeming offended herewith, said, "*Nous ne vous craignons pas,*" or, "We are not afraid of you." I replied hereupon, that if you had said you had not loved us, I should have believed you, but should have returned you another answer; in the meanwhile, that I had no more to say than what I told him formerly, which was, that we knew what we had to do. This, though somewhat less than was in my instructions, so angered him, that in much passion he said, *Par Dieu, si vous n'êties Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, je vous traitterois d'un' autre sorte*—"By God, if you were not Monsieur Ambassador, I would use you after another fashion." My answer was, that as I was an ambassador, so I was also a gentleman; and therewithal, laying my hand upon the hilt of my sword, told him, there was that which should make him an answer, and so arose from my chair; to which Monsieur de Luynes made no reply, but, arising likewise from his chair, offered civilly to accompany me to the door; but I telling him there was no occasion for him to use ceremony, after so rude an entertainment, I departed from him.

From thence returning to my lodging, I spent three or four days afterwards in seeing the manner of the French discipline, in making approaches to towns; at what time I remember, that going in my coach within reach of cannon, those in the town imagining me to be an enemy, made many shots against me, which so affrighted my coachman, that he durst drive no farther; whereupon alighting, I bid him put the horses out of danger; and notwithstanding many more shots made against me, went on foot to the trenches, where one Seaton, a Scotchman, conducting me, showed me their works, in which I found little differing from the Low Country manner. Having satisfied myself in this manner, I thought fit to take my leave of the King, being at Cognac, the city of St. Jean d'Angely being now surrendered unto him.

Coming thus to a village not far from Cognac, about ten of the clock at night, I found all the lodgings possessed by soldiers; so that alighting in the market-place, I sent my

servants to the inns to get some provision, who bringing me only six rye loaves, which I was doubtful whether I should bestow on myself and company, or on my horses, Monsieur de Ponts, a French nobleman of the religion, attended with a brave train, hearing of my being there, offered me lodging in his castle near adjoining: I told him it was a great courtesy at that time, yet I could not with my honor accept it, since I knew it would endanger him, my business to those parts being in favor of those of the religion, and the chief ministers of state in France being jealous of my holding intelligence with him; howbeit, if he would procure me lodging in the town, I should take it kindly; whereupon, sending his servants round about the town, he found at last, in the house of one of his tenants, a chamber, to which, when he had conducted me, and together gotten some little accommodation for myself and horses, I desired him to depart to his lodgings, he being then in a place which his enemies, the King's soldiers, had possessed. All which was not so silently carried, but that the said nobleman was accused afterwards at the French court, upon suspicion of holding correspondence with me, whereof it was my fortune to clear him.

Coming next day to Cognac, the Mareschal de St. Geran, my noble friend, privately met me, and said I was not in a place of surety there, as having offended Monsieur de Luynes, who was the King's favorite, desiring me withal to advise what I had to do: I told him I was in a place of surety wheresoever I had my sword by my side, and that I intended to demand audience of the King; which also being obtained, I found not so cold a reception as I thought to meet with, insomuch that I parted with his Majesty, to all outward appearance, in very good terms.

From hence returning to Paris shortly after, I found myself welcome to all those ministers of state there, and noblemen, who either envied the greatness, or loved not the insolencies of Monsieur de Luynes; by whom also I was told, that the said Luynes had intended to send a brother of his into England with an embassy, the effect whereof should be chiefly to complain against me, and to obtain that I should be repealed; and that he intended to relate the passages betwixt us at St. Jean d'Angely in a much different manner

from that I reported, and that he would charge me with giving the first offense. After thanks for this advertisement, I told them my relation of the business betwixt us, in the manner I delivered, was true, and that I would justify it with my sword; at which they being nothing scandalized, wished me good fortune.

The ambassador into England following shortly after, with a huge train, in a sumptuous manner, and an accusation framed against me, I was sent for home, of which I was glad, my payment being so ill, that I was run far into debt with my merchants, who had assisted me now with £3000 or £4000 more than I was able at the present to discharge. Coming thus to court, the Duke of Buckingham, who was then my noble friend, informed me at large of the objections represented by the French ambassador; to which when I had made my defense in the manner above related, I added, that I was ready to make good all that I had said with my sword; and shortly after, I did, in the presence of his Majesty and the Duke of Buckingham, humbly desire leave to send a trumpet to Monsieur de Luynes, to offer him the combat, upon terms that past betwixt us; which was not permitted, otherwise than that they would take my offer into consideration. Howsoever, notice being publicly taken of this my desire, much occasion of speech was given, every man that heard thereof much favoring me; but the Duke of Luynes's death following shortly after, the business betwixt us was ended, and I commanded to return to my former charge in France. I did not yet presently go, as finding much difficulty tc obtain the moneys due to me from the Exchequer, and therewith, as also by my own revenues, to satisfy my creditors in France. The Earl of Carlisle this while being employed Extraordinary Ambassador to France, brought home a confirmation of the passages betwixt Monsieur de Luynes and myself; Monsieur de Arnaud, who stood behind the hangings, as above related, having verified all I said, insomuch that the King my master was well satisfied of my truth.

Having by this time cleared all my debts, when demanding new instructions from the King my master, the Earl of Carlisle brought me this message, that his Majesty had that experience of my abilities and fidelity, that he would

give me no instructions, but leave all things to my discretion, as knowing I would proceed with that circumspection, as I should be better able to discern, upon emergent occasions, what was fit to be done, than that I should need to attend directions from hence, which besides that they would be slow, might perchance be not so proper, or correspondent to the conjuncture of the great affairs then in agitation, both in France and Germany, and other parts of Christendom, and that these things, therefore, must be left to my vigilance, prudence, and fidelity. Whereupon I told his Lordship, that I took this as a singular expression of the trust his Majesty reposed in me; howbeit, that I desired his Lordship to pardon me, if I said I had herein only received a greater power and latitude to err, and that I durst not trust my judgment so far as that I would presume to answer for all events, in such factious and turbulent times, and therefore again did humbly desire new instructions, which I promised punctually to follow. The Earl of Carlisle returning hereupon to the King, brought me yet no other answer back than that I formerly mentioned, and that his Majesty did so much confide in me, that he would limit me with no other instructions, but refer all to my discretion, promising together, that if matters proceeded not as well as might be wished, he would attribute the default to anything rather than to my not performing my duty.

Finding his Majesty thus resolved, I humbly took leave of him and my friends at court, and went to Monsieur Savage; when demanding of him new letters of credit, his answer was, he could not furnish me as he had before, there being no limited sum expressed there, but that I should have as much as I needed; to which, though I answered that I had paid all, yet, as Monsieur Savage replied, that I had not paid it at the time agreed on, he said he could furnish me with a letter only for three thousand pounds, and nevertheless, that he was confident I should have more if I required it, which I found true, for I took up afterwards upon my credit there as much more, as made in the whole five or six thousand pounds.

Coming thus to Paris, I found myself welcomed by all the principal persons, nobody that I found there being either

offended with the passages betwixt me and Monsieur de Luynes, or that were sorry for his death, in which number the Queen's Majesty seemed the most eminent person, as one who long since had hated him: whereupon also, I cannot but remember this passage, that in an audience I had one day from the Queen, I demanded of her how far she would have assisted me with her good offices against Luynes? She replied, that what cause soever she might have to hate him, either by reason or by force, they would have made her to be of his side; to which I answered in Spanish, *No ay feurce por las a reynas*—"There is no force for queens," at which she smiled.

And now I began to proceed in all public affairs according to the liberty with which my master was pleased to honor me, confining myself to no rules but those of my own discretion. My negotiations in the meanwhile proving so successful, that during the remainder of my stay there, his Majesty received much satisfaction concerning my carriage, as finding I had preserved his honor and interest in all great affairs then emergent in France, Germany, and other parts of Christendom; which work being of great concernment, I found the easier, that his Majesty's ambassadors and agents everywhere gave me perfect intelligence of all that happened within their precincts; insomuch, that from Sir Henry Wotton, his Majesty's ambassador at Venice, who was a learned and witty gentleman, I received all the news of Italy; as also from Sir Isaac Wake, who did more particularly acquaint me with the business of Savoy, Valentina, and Switzerland; from Sir Francis Nethersole, his Majesty's agent in Germany, and more particularly with the united princes there, on the behalf of his son-in-law, the Palatine, or King of Bohemia, I received all the news of Germany; from Sir Dudley Carleton, his Majesty's ambassador in the Low Countries, I received intelligence concerning all the affairs of that state; and from Mr. William Trumbull, his Majesty's agent at Brussels, all the affairs on that side; and lastly, from Sir Walter Aston, his Majesty's ambassador in Spain, and after him, from the Earl of Bristol and Lord Cottington, I had intelligence from the Spanish court: out of all whose relations being compared together, I found matter enough to

direct my judgment in all public proceedings; besides, in Paris, I had the chief intelligence which came to either Monsieur de Langherac, the Low Country ambassador, or Monsieur Postek, agent for the united princes in Germany, and Signior Contarini, ambassador for Venice, and Signior Guiscardi my particular friend, agent for Mantua, and Monsieur Gueretin, agent for the Palatine, or King of Bohemia, and Monsieur Villers, for the Swiss, and Monsieur Ainorant, agent for Geneva, by whose means, upon the resultance of the several advertisements given me, I found what I had to do.

The wars in Germany were now hot, when several French gentlemen came to me for recommendations to the Queen of Bohemia, whose service they desired to advance, which also I performed as effectually as I could: howbeit, as after the battle of Prague, the Imperial side seemed wholly to prevail, these gentlemen had not the satisfaction expected. About this time, the Duke de Crouy, employed from Brussels to the French court, coming to see me, said, by way of rhodomontade, as though he would not speak of our isles, yet he saw all the rest of the world must bow under the Spaniard; to which I answered, God be thanked they are not yet come to that pass, or when they were, they have this yet to comfort them, that at worst they should be but the same which you are now; which speech of mine, being afterwards, I know not how, divulged, was much applauded by the French, as believing I intended that other countries should be put under the same severe government to which the Duke of Crouy, and those within the Spanish dominions, were subject.

It happened one day that the agent from Brussels, and ambassador from the Low Countries, came to see me, immediately one after the other, to whom I said familiarly, that I thought that the inhabitants of the parts of the seventeen provinces, which were under the Spaniards, might be compared to horses in a stable, which, as they were finely curried, dressed, and fed, so they were well ridden also, spurred, and galled; and that I thought the Low Country men were like to horses at grass, which, though they wanted so good keeping as the other had, yet might leap, kick, and fling, as much as they would; which freedom of mine displeased

neither: or, if the Low Country ambassador did think I had spoken a little too sharply, I pleased him afterwards, when, continuing my discourse, I told him that the states of the United Provinces had within a narrow room shut up so much warlike provision both by sea and land, and together demonstrated such courage upon all occasions, that it seemed they had more need of enemies than of friends, which compliment I found did please him.

About this time, the French being jealous that the King my master would match the Prince, his son, with the king of Spain's sister, and together relinquish his alliance with France, myself, who did endeavor nothing more than to hold all good intelligence betwixt the two crowns, had enough to do. The Count de Gondomar passing now from Spain into England, came to see me at Paris, about ten of the clock in the morning, when, after some compliments, he told me that he was to go towards England the next morning, and that he desired my coach to accompany him out of town; I told him, after a free and merry manner, he should not have my coach, and that if he demanded it, it was not because he needed coaches, the Pope's nuntio, the Emperor's ambassador, the Duke of Bavaria's agent, and others, having coaches enough to furnish him, but because he would put a jealousy betwixt me and the French, as if I inclined more to the Spanish side than to theirs. Gondomar then looking merrily upon me, said, I will dine with you yet; I told him, by his good favor, he should not dine with me at that time, and that when I would entertain the ambassador of so great a King as his, it should not be upon my ordinary, but that I would make him a feast worthy of so great a person; howbeit, that he might see after what manner I lived, I desired some of my gentlemen to bring his gentlemen into the kitchen, where, after my usual manner, were three spits full of meat, divers pots of boiled meat, and an oven, with store of pies in it, and a dresser board, covered with all manner of good fowl, and some tarts, pans with tarts in them after the French manner; after which, being conducted to another room, they were showed a dozen or sixteen dishes of sweetmeats, all which was but the ordinary allowance for my table. The Spaniards returning now to Gondomar told him

what good cheer they found, notwithstanding which, I told Gondomar again that I desired to be excused if I thought this dinner unworthy of him, and that when occasion were, I should entertain him after a much better manner. Gondomar hereupon coming near me, said, he esteemed me much, and that he meant only to put a trick upon me, which he found I had discovered, and that he thought that an Englishman had not known how to avoid handsomely a trick put upon him under show of civility; and that I ever should find him my friend, and would do me all the good offices he could in England, which also he really performed, as the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Pembroke confirmed to me; Gondomar saying to them, that I was a man fit for employment, and that he thought Englishmen, though otherwise able persons, knew not how to make a denial handsomely, which yet I had done.

This Gondomar being an able person, and dexterous in his negotiations, had so prevailed with King James, that his Majesty resolved to pursue his treaty with Spain, and for that purpose, to send his son Prince Charles in person to conclude the match, when, after some debate whether he should go in a public or private manner, it was at last resolved, that he, attended with the Marquis of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Cottington, his secretary, and Endymion Porter, and Mr. Grimes, gentleman of the horse to the Marquis, should pass in a disguised and private manner through France to Madrid; these five passing, though not without some difficulty, from Dover to Boulogne, where taking post horses, they came to Paris, and lodged at an inn in Rue St. Jacques, where it was advised amongst them whether they should send for me to attend them; after some dispute, it was concluded in the negative, since, as one there objected, if I came alone in the quality of a private person, I must go on foot through the streets; and because I was a person generally known, might be followed by some one or other, who would discover whither my private visit tended, besides, that those in the inn must needs take notice of my coming in that manner; on the other side, if I came publicly with my usual train, the gentlemen with me must needs take notice of the Prince and Marquis of Buckingham, and consequently might

divulge it, which was thought not to stand with the Prince's safety, who endeavored to keep his journey as secret as possible; howbeit, the Prince spent the day following his arrival in seeing the French court, and city of Paris, without that anybody did know his person, but a maid that had sold linen heretofore in London, who seeing him pass by, said, certainly this is the Prince of Wales, but withal suffered him to hold his way, and presumed not to follow him: the next day after, they took post horses, and held their way towards Bayonne, a city frontier to Spain.

The first notice that came to me was by one Andrews, a Scotchman, who, coming late the night preceding their departure, demanded whether I had seen the Prince? when I demanding what Prince? "for," said I, "the Prince of Condé is yet in Italy;" he told me the Prince of Wales, which yet I could not believe easily, until with many oaths he affirmed the Prince was in France, and that he had charge to follow his Highness, desiring me in the meanwhile, on the part of the King my master, to serve his passage the best I could. This made me rise very early the next morning, and go to Monsieur Puisieux, Principal Secretary of State, to demand present audience; Puisieux hereupon entreated me to stay an hour, since he was in bed, and had some earnest business to dispatch for the King his master, as soon as he was ready; I returned answer, that I could not stay a minute, and that I desired I might come to his bedside; this made Puisieux rise and put on his gown only, and so came to the chamber, where I attended him. His first words to me were, "I know your business as well as you; your Prince is departed this morning post to Spain;" adding further, that I could demand nothing for the security of his passage, but it should be presently granted, concluding with these very words; *Vous serez servi au point nommè,* or "You shall be served in any particular you can name." I told him that his free offer had prevented the request I intended to make, and that because he was so principal a minister of state, I doubted not but what he had so nobly promised, he would see punctually performed; as for the security of his passage, that I did not see what I could demand more, than that he would suffer him quietly to hold his way, without sending

after, or interrupting him. He replied, that the Prince should not be interrupted, though yet he could do no less than send to know what success the Prince had in his journey. I was no sooner returned out of his chamber, but I dispatched a letter by post to the Prince, to desire him to make all the haste he could out of France, and not to treat with any of the religion in the way, since his being at Paris was known, and that though the French secretary had promised he should not be interrupted, yet that they would send after his Highness, and when he gave any occasion of suspicion, might perchance detain him. The Prince, after some examination at Bayonne (which the governor thereof did afterwards particularly relate to me, confessing that he did not know who the Prince was), held his way on to Madrid, where he and all his company safely arrived. Many of the nobility, and others of the English court, being now desirous to see the Prince, did pass through France to Spain, taking my house still in their way, by whom I acquainted his Highness in Spain how much it grieved me that I had not seen his Highness when he was in Paris, which occasioned his Highness afterwards to write a letter to me, wholly with his own hand, and subscribe his name, your friend Charles, in which he did abundantly satisfy all the unkindness I might conceive on this occasion.

I shall not enter into a narration of the passages occurring in the Spanish court, upon his Highness's arrival thither, though they were well known to me for the most part, by the information the French Queen was pleased to give me, who, among other things, told me that her sister did wish well unto the Prince. I had from her also, intelligence of certain messages sent from Spain to the Pope, and the Pope's messages to them; whereof, by her permission, I did afterwards inform his Highness. Many judgments were now made concerning the event which this treaty of marriage was likely to have; the Duke of Savoy said that the prince's journey thither was, *Un tiro di quelli cavallieri antichi che andavano cosi per il mondo a differe li incanti* (that it was a trick of those ancient knights errant, who went up and down the world after that manner to undo enchantments): for as that Duke did believe that the Spaniard did intend

finally to bestow her on the Imperial house, he conceived that he did only entertain the treaty with England, because he might avert the King my master from treating in any other place, and particularly in France, howbeit, by the intelligence I received in Paris, which I am confident was very good, I am assured the Spaniard meant really at that time, though how the match was broken, I list not here to relate, it being a more perplexed and secret business than I am willing to insert into the narration of my life.

New propositions being now made, and other counsels thereupon given, the Prince taking his leave of the Spanish court, came to St. Andrews in Spain, where, shipping himself, with his train, arrived safely at Portsmouth, about the beginning of October 1623; the news whereof being shortly brought into France, the Duke of Guise came to me, and said he found the Spaniards were not so able men as he thought, since they had neither married the Prince in their country, nor done anything to break his match elsewhere; I answered, that the Prince was more dexterous than that any secret practice of theirs could be put upon him; and as for violence, I thought the Spaniards durst not offer it.

The war against those of the religion continuing in France, Père Séguerend, confessor to the King, made a sermon before his Majesty upon the text, "That we should forgive our enemies," upon which argument, having said many good things, he at last distinguished forgiveness, and said, We were indeed to forgive our enemies, but not the enemies of God; such as were heretics, and particularly those of the religion; and that his Majesty, as the most Christian King, ought to extirpate them wheresoever they could be found. This particular being related to me, I thought fit to go to the Queen-mother without further ceremony, for she gave me leave to come to her chamber whensoever I would, without demanding audience, and to tell her, that though I did not usually intermeddle with matters handled within their pulpits, yet because Père Séguerend, who had the charge of the King's conscience, had spoken so violently against those of the religion, that his doctrine was not limited only to France, but might extend itself in its consequences beyond the seas, even to the dominions of the King my master; I could not but

think it very unreasonable, and the rather, that as her Majesty well knew that a treaty of marriage betwixt our Prince and the Princess her daughter, was now begun, for which reason I could do no less than humbly desire that such doctrines as these henceforth might be silenced, by some discreet admonition, she might please to give to Père Séguerend, or others that might speak to this purpose. The Queen, though she seemed very willing to hear me, yet handled the business so, that Père Séguerend was together informed who had made this complaint against him, whereupon also he was so distempered, that by one Monsieur Gaellac, a Provençal, his own countryman, he sent me this message; that he knew well who had accused him to her Majesty, and that he was sensible thereof; that he wished me to be assured, that wheresoever I was in the world, he would hinder my fortune. The answer I returned by Monsieur Gaellac was, That nothing in all France, but a friar or a woman durst have sent me such a message.

Shortly after this, coming again to the Queen-mother, I told her, that what I said concerning Père Séguerend, was spoken with a good intention, and that my words were now discovered to him in that manner, that he sent me a very affronting message, adding, after a merry fashion, these words, that I thought Séguerend so malicious, that his malice was beyond the malice of women: the Queen, being a little startled hereat, said, *A moy femme, et parler ainsi?*—"To me a woman, and say so?" I replied gently, *Je parle a vôtre majestè comme reyne, et non pas comme femme*—"I speak to your Majesty as a queen, and not as a woman," and so took my leave of her. What Père Séguerend did afterwards, in way of performing his threat, I know not; but sure I am, that had I been ambitious of worldly greatness, I might have often remembered his words, though, as I ever loved my book, and a private life, more than any busy preferments, I did frustrate and render vain his greatest power to hurt me.

My book, *De veritate prout distinguitur à revelatione verisimili, possibili, et à falso,* having been begun by me in England, and formed there in all its principal parts, was about this time finished; all the spare hours which I could

get from my visits and negotiations, being employed to perfect this work, which was no sooner done, but that I communicated it to Hugo Grotius, that great scholar, who, having escaped his prison in the Low Countries, came into France, and was much welcomed by me and Monsieur Tielenus also, one of the greatest scholars of his time, who, after they had perused it, and given it more commendations than is fit for me to repeat, exhorted me earnestly to print and publish it; howbeit, as the frame of my whole book was so different from anything which had been written heretofore, I found I must either renounce the authority of all that had written formerly concerning the method of finding out truth, and consequently insist upon my own way, or hazard myself to a general censure, concerning the whole argument of my book; I must confess it did not a little animate me, that the two great persons above mentioned did so highly value it, yet as I knew it would meet with much opposition, I did consider whether it was not better for me a while to suppress it. Being thus doubtful in my chamber, one fair day in the summer, my casement being opened towards the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took my book, *De Veritate,* in my hand, and, kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words:—

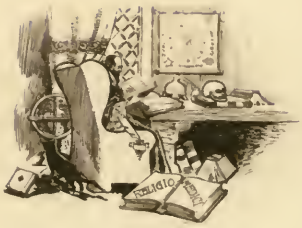
"O thou eternal God, Author of the light which now shines upon me, and Giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech Thee, of Thy infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make; I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book, *De Veritate;* if it be for Thy glory, I beseech Thee give me some sign from heaven; if not, I shall suppress it."

I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud though yet gentle noise came from the heavens, for it was like nothing on earth, which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my book. This, how strange soever it may seem, I protest before the eternal God is true, neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only clearly hear the noise, but in the serenest sky that ever I saw, being without all cloud, did to my thinking see the place from whence it came.

And now I sent my book to be printed in Paris, at my own cost and charges, without suffering it to be divulged to others than to such as I thought might be worthy readers of it; though afterwards reprinting it in England, I not only dispersed it among the prime scholars of Europe, but was sent to not only from the nearest but furthest parts of Christendom, to desire the sight of my book, for which they promised anything I should desire by way of return; but hereof more amply in its place.

The treaty of a match with France continuing still, it was thought fit for the concluding thereof, that the Earl of Carlisle and the Earl of Holland should be sent Extraordinary Ambassadors to France.

THE END OF LORD HERBERT'S MANUSCRIPT



SIR KENELM DIGBY

SIR KENELM DIGBY

THE PRINCE OF LOVERS, DREAMERS AND ADVENTURERS

1603-1665

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

Our prosaic world would be poorer indeed if Sir Kenelm Digby had never recorded for us the impassioned tale of his wooing and his wedding. Perhaps more critical minds may not find it possible to invest his love with the halo of purity and nobility in which he has so poetically enshrined it. But there can be no doubt that to Sir Kenelm his romance wore all the splendid glory of his book. He was the prince of lovers and of dreamers.

His book tells only of his love affair, but history has much more to tell of Sir Kenelm. The Digbys were an ancient English Catholic family; his father was hanged on the charge of plotting for Catholicism, and young Kenelm was bred up in the ancient faith. He wedded the Lady Venetia Stanley in 1625; and though history has accused her of being a courtesan who deliberately set out to win the wealthy young Catholic noble, yet she may have been as perfect and as spotlessly sinned against as Sir Kenelm describes her. She died in 1633 and her lover-husband thereafter devoted himself to literature, to science and to statecraft, and won an honored name in all three.

Sir Kenelm's curious book is written under a thin disguise, the reason for which he himself explains in the last section of the book. All his characters and places are given ancient Greek names. Except for this he maintains that he is holding wholly to the truth. His bits of the history of his time are undeniably accurate; and while his accounts of his own stupendous valor, his visions, and his pompous speeches may raise a smile of tolerant incredulity, yet it is only fair to Sir Kenelm to point out that there is some evidence of his truthfulness even in these portions of his works. For one thing, his contemporaries speak quite as warmly as he does himself of his vigor, his valor, and his prowess in martial exercises. Pompous speech-making was the fashion of his day, and if young Kenelm did not upon the spur of the moment express himself in quite such flowery phrases as mark the conversations in his book, we may be sure he strove to do so—and he was

no mean poet. As to the mysticism of his tale, one can only record that Sir Kenelm dabbled all his life in magic, and believed in it. And he who has the full strength to believe, may thereby indeed see strange things and accomplish much.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF SIR KENELM DIGBY

I

Nature, without other tutor, teacheth us how all agents work for some precise end, and to obtain that, do contribute all their endeavors, and make use of all the means that are within the reach of their power. But, herein, natural agents that are guided by an original necessity, have one great advantage over those that have liberty of election of the ends and means: for they are leveled by a certain and never failing rule which was given to all things when their first being was given them, and from the which they cannot depart nor swerve without the immediate and express interessing of him that was their lawgiver, who governs them with infinite justice, wisdom, and goodness.

But these being composed of such differing parts, that one may well say they bear about within them a perpetual civil war; the rational part striving to preserve her dignity and the superiority due to her, as being the nobler substance; and the inferior part, wherein reign the mists and clouds of various and inconstant passions, aspiring to overshadow and dim her brightness, and to range at liberty without any curb, they are always in great and almost inevitable hazard of miscarrying, as well in the proposing to themselves the worthiest end as in the election of the sincere and true means to attain unto it. Which hath made me many times retire my looser thoughts within their own center, and with serious meditation fix them upon this subject, through the desire I have had to direct this my journey in a right way, which is of so much importance, that the least going astray out of the true path brings a continual sickness to the mind, and the greatest disorder that may be among the senses; the one being then always in unquietness and a tedious expectation of the future, and never contented with the present, like to sick men that being in a high fever do often change their places

and turn from one side to the other, though with no ease or amendment; and the others grow mutinous and disobedient, seeing that she who ought to be their mistress and governess, is at war within herself, and in as much distemper as they can be in; so that the smallest errors whatsoever do turn into jarring dissonances the music within man, which consisting parts, when they keep exact time together, frameth the sweetest and most pleasing harmony that may be.

At such times then as my soul being delivered of other outward distractions, hath summoned all her faculties to attend this main business, the first consideration that hath occurred to me hath been that the peace and tranquillity of the mind ought principally to be aimed at; the obtaining of which is an infallible token that one is in the right way of attaining to perfect happiness; or rather, these two have so straight and near a relation, as that the one cannot be without the other: for this ethereal form, which by the Almighty Architect was breathed into us, can no more rest when anything concerning it is out of the due harmony and proportion, than a sensible body can when any of the humors are distempered or unequally distributed; and as a just mixture of these causeth an entire and vigorous health of the body, which is not so well discerned by considering it positively in itself, as by comparing the present state of it with those that are sick; so the due temperature of the mind causeth the health of it and that blessed rest that we all aim at; which is best discovered by conferring it with those that are in the way of ruin, having lost the load-star that should be their guide in the troublesome and tempestuous seas of this short and transitory life.

I have, therefore, gone about to examine by myself the course and tenor of other men's actions; but in most of them I have found such uncertainty and such unstayedness, that I soon perceived there was nothing to be gathered from them for my direction, more than to avoid treading in those paths where they walked. But at length I perceived that that Infinite Light, which illuminateth all things, is never wanting to illustrate such a mind as with due humility and diligence maketh itself fit to receive it: for it was not long before such an example occurred to me, as satisfied me that in this

life a man may enjoy so much happiness, as without anxiety or desire of having anything besides what he possesseth, he may, with a quiet and peaceable soul, rest with full measure of content and bliss, that I know not whether it be short of it in anything but the security of continuance. It was the perfect friendship and noble love of two generous persons, that seemed to be born in this age by ordinance of heaven to teach the world anew what it hath long forgotten, the mystery of loving with honor and constancy, between a man and a woman; both of them in the vigor of their youth, and both blessed by nature with eminent endowments, as well of the mind as of the body.

If, then, I should be asked where such an example might be found, I must confess that, besides this which I intend to speak of, I could urge none; which it seemeth the Infinite Wisdom, that disposeth all things, deferred until this season, wherein affections are so depraved that they had need of the liveliest pattern and most efficacious means to incite them to mingle honor with their other joys: that so they may entirely possess the height of that happiness which this life can afford, and which representeth notably the infinite blessed state wherein the almighty God reigneth, by uniting two persons, two souls, two wills, in one; which by breathing together produce a divine love; and then their bodies may justly strive to perpetuate that essence by succession, whose durance in themselves is limited: and thus they become types of that trinity and unity living in eternity, which infused the spirit of life into him of whom all men derive themselves, and enjoy in security within themselves the perfection of blessedness and content.

The sweetness of my contemplations have so of a sudden plunged me into an immense ocean, that I can sail no longer in it in the weak bark of human capacity and reason; therefore all that I can do to save myself from shipwreck, will be to make haste back to the shore; where, betaking myself to an easier task, I will set down in the best manner that I can, the beginning, progress, and consummation of that excellent love which only makes me believe that our pilgrimage in this world is not indifferently laid upon all persons for a curse.

In the first place, it giveth me occasion to acknowledge and admire the high and transcendent operations of the celestial bodies, which containing, and moving about the universe, send their influence every way and to all things; and who, although they take not away the liberty of free agents, yet do so strongly, though at the first secretly and insensibly, work upon their spiritual part by means of the corporeal, that they get the mastery before they be perceived; and then it is too late to make any resistance.

II

For from what other cause could proceed this strong knot of affection, which being tied in tender years before any mutual obligations could help to confirm it, could not be torn asunder by long absence, the austerity of parents, other pretenders, false rumors, and other the greatest difficulties and oppositions that could come to blast the budding blossoms of an infant love that hath since brought forth so fair flowers and so mature fruit? Certainly the stars were at the least the first movers; who having ordained that from the affection of these two the world might learn how to love, did link together sundry remote causes to make them all concur in this one effect: and as in sciences the first principles are abstruse and inscrutable, but they being delivered by an unquestionable authority and once received, it is easy to extend them and to build high and elevated conclusions upon them; even so, when the higher powers had by a transcendent manner of operation inclined the hearts of Theagenes[1] and Stelliana to the liking of one another, then straight their understandings, their wills, and all the faculties of their souls applied themselves with all the vehemence that might be to frame a perfect love.

It is evident that their own election had the least part in the beginning of it, for before they had the freedom of that or of judging this fire was kindled, it grew with them, and the first word that they could speak, being yet in the nurse's arms was, love: which, taking deep root in their tender hearts, and meeting with heroical souls, produced

[1] The reader must remember throughout that Theagenes is Sir Kenelm himself, and Stelliana is Lady Venetia, afterward his wife.

heroical and worthy effects, the relation of which shall be the subject of the ensuing discourse, wherein I will set down, in the liveliest manner that I can, the various fortunes that befell them before they arrived to their wished period; and that in a plain style, and without endearing anything to the advancement of either of them beyond the reality of truth; knowing that in the first, if I should strive to do otherwise, my mean abilities would come far short of my desire; and in the second, I might seem, unto those that know how near friends they are unto me, to have looked upon them through the glass of affection, and to have delivered them with partiality.

To deduce then this narration from the very beginning. Stelliana being born of parents that in the antiquity and luster of their houses, and in the goods of fortune, were inferior to none in all Peloponesus; it pleased Heaven, when she was not many months old, to take her mother from her, deeming, as I think, the earth, and too negligent a husband, not worthy of so divine a blessing; who dying left the goodness of her soul and the beauty of her body, in both which she surpassed all others of her time, to her infant daughter.

Nearchus[2] then, for that was the name of Stelliana's father, being like those that through the weakness of their eyes are dazzled with too great a light, and are not able to comprehend it until the absence of it make them lament their loss; began then to be sensible how happy he might formerly have been by the unhappy state wherein he found himself, being deprived of that jewel whose loss would have made the world poor, if out of her ashes another Phœnix had not risen with greater splendor. And then sorrow and discontented thoughts beginning to take possession of his mind, the nature of which is to please themselves in nothing but such objects as may feed and increase them, he retired himself to a private and recollected life, where without the troubles that attend upon great fortunes he might give free scope to his melancholic fantasies: which to enjoy more fully in the way that he desired, he judged it expedient by removing his daughter from him to take away such cumbers as might disturb his course, since it was requisite for the education due

[2] Sir Edward Stanley.

to her high birth to have many about her, that would ill agree with his affected solitariness.

Wherefore, as soon as she had attained to such strength as that her remove might be without danger, he sent her to a kinsman of his, whose wife being a grave and virtuous lady, had given him assurance that no care or diligence should be wanting on her part to cultivate those rare natural endowments which did already shine through her tender age. Their house in the country was near to that where Arete [3] the mother of Theagenes lived, whose father was then dead, which gave occasion of frequent interchanging visits between her and Stelliana's guardians, and the affection of the one to her son, which would not suffer her to be long without him, and the respect of the others to their charge, which made them glad to satisfy her, though yet childish desires, in anything they could, as in the fondness of going abroad and such like, was the cause that they seldom came together but that the two children had part in the meeting: who the very first time that ever they had sight of one another, grew so fond of each other's company, that all that saw them said assuredly that something above their tender capacity breathed this sweet affection into their hearts. They would mingle serious kisses among their innocent sports: and whereas other children of like age did delight in fond plays and light toys, these two would spend the day in looking upon each other's face, and in accompanying these looks with gentle sighs, which seemed to portend that much sorrow was laid up for their more understanding years; and if at any time they happened to use such recreations as were sortable to their age, they demeaned themselves therein so prettily and so affectionately, that one would have said, love was grown a child again and took delight to play with them. And when the time of parting came, they would take their leaves with such abundance of tears and sighs as made it evident that so deep a sorrow could not be borne and nursed in children's breasts without a nobler cause than the usual fondness in others.

But I should do wrong unto their riper love, to insist too long upon these crude beginnings, therefore, with as much

[3] Lady Digby, daughter and heiress of Wm. Mulsho, Esq.

haste as I can I will run these over, to come unto the other that calls upon me to keep myself in breath and to summon together my quickest spirits, that I may be able to represent it in as stately and majestic manner as it deserves. Therefore what I have already said shall suffice for their first innocent years, whiles fortune seemed to conspire with love to unite their hearts: but they were scarcely arrived to the maturity of judging why they loved, and not to love still only because they loved, when she turned about her inconstant wheel in such sort that, if their fates had not been written above in eternal characters, even then their affections had been by a long winter of absence nipped and destroyed in their budding spring. For what is not that able to do in so young hearts, that immediately after have the overtures and pursuits of new and advantageous loves? Yet these kept their first fire alive; and although it may seem in the process of this story that sometime it burned but faintly, yet it was only that those coals wanting fuel, wrought upon themselves, and by their own violence covered themselves over in a bed of ashes, which the first sight raked away, and added plentiful matter to cause a brighter flame than at any time before.

To continue then where I left, Stelliana being of such age that with her tender hand she could scarcely reach to gather the lowest fruit of the loaden boughs; her father, that yielded daily more and more to his discontents, and fainting under the burden of them which age made to seem heavier, sent for her back to his own house, hoping that by the presence of such a daughter, whom fame delivered to excel in all things belonging to a lady of her quality, and that inherited the perfections of her deceased mother, whose loss he lamented still as tenderly as at the first day of her death, he might pass the rest of his drooping days with some more content, and to have in her a lively image of his virtuous wife, that being deeply engraved in his heart, did with the continual exercise of his solitary thoughts upon that one subject, almost wear it out and corrode it through.

He then perceived that his expectations and desires were not frustrated; for Stelliana's sweet and gentle disposition, that was like a rich soil to sow the best grain in, striving to exceed in capacity the good precepts that were delivered

her by those tutors which her guardian's loving care with singular choice had placed about her, had made her to exceed all others of her age so far, as caused men to doubt that the heavens meant not to lend her long unto the earth, since she had already arrived to that maturity and perfection that most come short of when they have past a long and tedious life: so that she was ready to change this wearisome pilgrimage for a happier crown before she knew almost what it was to live.

He had not long enjoyed the fruits of this blessed harvest, when the marriage of the King of Morea's[4] daughter with one of the greatest princes of Achaya, invited all men of eminency to the court, to contribute their particular joys to the great and public solemnities. Wherefore Nearchus being desirous to give his daughter the content of seeing the magnificent entertainments that are usual at such times, and also being glad to let the world now see that fame was nothing too lavish in setting out her perfections, took this occasion to bring her to Corinth the metropolitan city, where her beauty and discretion did soon draw the eyes and thoughts of all men to admiration: so that in this the example of her was singular, that whereas the beauty of other fair ladies used to grace and adorn public feasts and assemblies, hers did so far exceed all others as well in action as in excellence, that it drew to her not only the affections, but also the thoughts of all persons, so that all things else that were provided with greatest splendor and curiosity, passed by unregarded and neglected.

But here one may see how undeservedly that is styled happiness, which subsisteth only in the opinion of others; and how little they are sensible of outward applause, that have their heart fixed upon other objects; for in the midst of these joys where Stelliana was the jewel that crowned them all, she could taste nothing that savored of content; but as if happiness had been confined to where Theagenes was, in his absence she did languish and think those hours tedious that obliged her by civil respect whiles she was in company to suspend and interrupt her thoughts, whose true center he

[4] Morea stands, throughout the tale, for England; and its king is James I, the sovereign of Kenelm's youth. Achaya is Germany.

was and about which they only desired to move. So that one day Ursatius, a principal nobleman of the court, whose heart was set on fire with the radiant beams that sparkled from her eyes, took the confidence to speak unto her as he sat next to her at a masque.

[Here follows an account of Lady Venetia's abduction by this great noble. She was rescued by another unknown gentleman, Mardontius, and brought to the widow Artesia who speaks to her of Kenelm's mother. Kenelm tells the story only from hearsay.]

III

Said Artesia, "The widow Arete had two children, who now, by her industry in bringing them up in all qualities and virtuous exercises, correspondent to their birth, do give assured hopes that they will not degenerate from their father's worth, nor give their mother cause to think that her great care in their education was ill bestowed. Yet they seem to differ much in their natures, for the eldest, Theagenes, although the great strength and well framing of his body, make him apt for any corporal exercises, yet he pleaseth himself most in the entertainments of the mind, so that having applied himself to the study of philosophy, and other deepest sciences, wherein he hath a preceptor in the house with him, famous beyond all men now living, for solidness and generality of learning, he is already grown so eminent, that I have heard them say, who have insight that way, that if a lazy desire of ease or ambition of public employments, or some other disturbance, do not interrupt him in this course, he is like to attain to great perfection: at least I can discern thus much, that he hath such a temper of complexion and wit, that his friends have reason to pray God that he may take a right way, for it cannot keep itself in mediocrity, but will infallibly fall to some extreme. But the youngest is composed of mildness and sweetness of disposition, answerable to the excellent form of a comely and active body, yet so mingled with courage and strength of mind, that one may expect he will as much exceed most men in being an ornament of the court, and in martial affairs, as he will come short of any, in speculative notions: for withal, he is not an

enemy to study, though he be not naturally much addicted to it. Their mother was ever dear to me," continued she, "and if I can effect what I have affectionately endeavored and solicited, we shall be able to leave to our posterity the inheritance of our affections as well as of our estates; for I have labored long, and Arete hath not been wanting on her part, to join in marriage her eldest son, and my grandchild that you see here; who, if partiality deceive me not, besides that she shall inherit a great estate of her father's, is so much beholding to nature, that she may show her face among the fairest, when you are away I mean;" and with that she smiled.

But Stelliana was far from answering her with the like cheerful countenance, for it seemed to her that death had from Artesia's lips shot her heart through: but impatience of delay to know the worst of what she feared called up her fainting spirits; and made her ask, "What it was that hindered the effecting it, since you two," said she, "that are the guiders of it are equally affected with the desire thereof." "It is," answered Artesia, "the backwardness of Theagenes, of which his mother one day complaining to me, told me what an answer he had made to her a little before, as she had solicited him to condescend to her just desire, it being so much for his advantage. 'Madam,' quoth he, 'the greatest obligation that I have to you, and wherein you express your love most to me, is the liberty that you have left to me in this main business of marriage, upon the good or evil success of which, dependeth one's future happiness or misery: and since you are pleased to enter into discourse of it with me, as advising me what will be most for my good, I beseech you, give me leave to represent unto you how it is a condition that hath nothing but the entrance free; therefore in wisdom it ought to be deferred till one be in the fullness and vigor of judgment to discern best in making a fitting choice; which cannot well be performed by attorney. Besides, to have it complete in all respects, the first motives of it should not be sordid wealth or other conveniences, but a divine affection, which may make their souls one as the other bond doth their bodies; and I must confess that, although I know this gentlewoman do every way deserve better

fortune than I can bring her, I feel not yet this flame in me towards her, which is indeed only a gift of Heaven. And if I should consent to make her my wife, I must resolve to sit still from any action, as being arrived to the period of my ambition: for the relations that follow marriage are such a clog to an active mind, that it is impossible for one that hath not before laid a foundation for his preferment, to raise himself above the pitch that he then is in; whereas as long as he remaineth single and free, the world seemeth to be at his command in choosing what course is like to succeed best to him, and in the process of which he is like then to have least difficulties. Therefore as long as the weakness of our estate obligeth you not yet to sell me to repair that, I beseech you give me leave to look a little while about me, and to please myself a while with flying abroad before I be put into the mewe.' So that," continued Artesia, "by this speech of his, and knowing his mother's indulgence to give way to his desire, I doubt much whether what I have so much longed for will ever come to pass. Yet (because I leave nothing unattempted) Arete and myself, when I last saw her, resolved that she should bring him hither, to try if my grandchild's silent beauty can persuade him to what yet he hath ever been averse; for they say that the blind god shooting from fair eyes, doth sometimes prevail with stubborn hearts more than any reason or discourse can: so that taking the offered occasion of my son's coming hither, who will be here to-morrow, to communicate with my nearest friends, my content of seeing so dear a son that hath been long absent from me, I have invited her to my house, who I expect will be here within these two or three days, together with Theagenes."

If the first part of Artesia's speech brought doubts and fears to Stelliana's soul, the conclusion of it was to her like a gentle gale of wind, that in a burning day creepeth over sweet and flowery meads, and breathes upon the languishing face of the faint traveler that is almost dead with heat. It was well that she had thus much time beforehand to prepare herself to expect his coming; for if she had been surprised with so joyful a sight, it had been impossible for her to disguise her affections, which mainly imported them both, and principally there, to be concealed: for Arete, that had long

before perceived much affection in her son to Stelliana, and being now much averse to it, as well because of some unkindnesses passed between Nearchus and her, as that it might be a disturbance to the other that she came about, and infinitely desired; did with watchful eyes, armed with longing, hatred, and jealousy, continually observe all passages between her son and Stelliana; so as the two first days that they were together, they could have no conveniency of free discourse: whilst their fire increasing by presence and each other's sight, the keeping of it in too narrow a room without any vent, almost smothered their hearts. But what dull wit will not love refine, and subtilize with acutest inventions? Much more so docile a one as Theagenes's, whose breast was now become love's school, out of which he might have read a learned lecture to novice affections. And he, now burning with impatience, and fearing lest, like the loadstone, he should always point to his bright north star without ever coming to touch it, he advised himself of a means to instruct Stelliana how they might have, once before they parted, the liberty of breathing their souls' affections into one another; which was thus.

One day as she had by accident let her glove fall, he took it up, and having a letter ready in his hand, which he had written a day before, and awaited an opportunity of delivering it, did thrust it into the glove, and kissing it, gave her, who putting her hand into it to pull it on, felt a paper there, which, conceiving how it came in, she kept safe till night, that she was retired into her chamber; and then after she was in bed, and had dismissed her servants, she read it by the help of the watch-light, which stood burning by her: and being thereby instructed how she should govern herself when the occasion was presented to procure a fit and secure meeting, sleep stole upon her as she was entertaining her pleased thoughts with the hope of that blessed hour; which happened to be the next day: for Artesia and her son, and all the company that was at her house, were invited to hunt a stag in the forest that was near adjoining; when being in the midst of the chase, and every one attentive to the sport, Stelliana, staying to be among the hindmost, turned her horse down a riding that led another way than where the hounds had gone,

which she did in such a manner, as those that were near her might conceive she would have taken him up, as being weary with a long chase, and not desirous to follow it farther, but that he being hot and impatient of the bit, did perforce carry her that way when he was diverted from the other. [Here eight lines are obliterated in Sir Kenelm's manuscript] . . . till being so far got from the rest of the company, who in such a wild place could not find them out, they alighted and led their horses into a thicket, where lying down whilst they grazed by them, Stelliana, opening her coral lips which showed, like the opening of heaven when the Lord of it sendeth abroad some blessed angel to do a message of joy, began in this manner. "The confidence that I have of your respect, my dearest Theagenes, in thus exposing my honor into your hands, is, without any other, a sufficient testimony of the love I bear you; yet because the remembrance of past sorrows is the mother of present joy, and that the relation of what I have suffered for your sake, for being constant to you, may make me in some measure seem worthy of the return of your affection, I will, as briefly as I can, run over the sad story of the widow hours that with leaden feet have crept over me, since I had the blessing of seeing you." "You would do too great a wrong, fairest Stelliana," answered Theagenes, "to my clear flame, if at least any injustice can proceed from so divine a hand, in thinking that there were need of any other motive for me to love you but yourself: for angels and souls love where they discover greatest perfections, and I were too blind if I did not discern yours. So that in me, where knowledge and understanding is the ground of a noble and spiritual love, other obligations are scarcely considerable; for that knowledge and love have converted me into a part of you, and your goodness having united you to me, I can no more give you thanks for any merit towards me, than another man may thank himself for doing himself a good turn: so that, in fine, no action of yours can avail to gain more upon that affection which is already entirely yours."—"I must yield," replied Stelliana, "in the manner of expression, to you that have the advantages of wit and learning to clothe your conceptions in the gracefulest attire; but in reality of love I will never yield to you; for I take Heaven to witness, I have tasted of no joy

in this long night of absence, but what the thoughts of you have brought me; and have ever resolved no longer to live than I have had hope to enjoy your love."—"Oh, think not," answered Theagenes, "that when the heart speaks upon so serious and high a theme, wit or study can have any share in the contexture of what one saith; lovers can speak as effectually in silence, as by the help of weak words, which are but the overflowings of a passionate heart; for intellectual substances communicate themselves by their wills; and mine is so entirely drowned in yours, that it moveth not but as you guide it. Yet dare I not to contend with you who loveth most; for I know that as you surpass me in all excellent faculties of a worthy soul, so you do in the perfection of love; yet in this I think I have much the advantage of you, that I love you as well as I can, and stretch all the powers of my soul to bring my love to the highest pitch that I may, since it hath a worthier object than it can raise itself unto; whereas, on the other side, you not finding in me worth enough to take up as much as you could bestow, must go with reservation; and thus I, by soaring up to perfections above me, do daily refine myself, whilst you are fain to let yourself down, unless it be when your contemplations, rolling like the heavens about their own center, do make yourself their object." "Fie, fie," said Stelliana, "stop that mouth, which were it any other but whose it is, I would call it a sacrilegious mouth, that thus blasphemeth against the saint that I adore." And then went on with the story of her passed troubles for Theagenes; who, when she had ended, requited her with his; the conclusion of which being the earnest and daily solicitation that his mother used to him to match himself with Artesia's grandchild, he told her how hitherto he had with delays, never using any direct refusal, which might exasperate her, prevented her rigorous pressing him to it; and that he had also contrived to secure himself for the future, in this manner.

By himself and others, upon whose opinions Arete much relied, he had obtained her leave to travel into foreign parts for two or three years, that course being usually followed in the education of the youth of quality and eminency in Morea, that by so conversing with several nations, and observ-

ing the natures and manners of men, they might enable themselves with good precepts, drawn from experience, and by variety of observations upon sundry and new emergent occasions, learn to banish admiration, which for the most part accompanieth homebred minds, and is the daughter of ignorance: "Of which fair pretenses," said Theagenes, "I will make my benefit to get myself free out of these dangers, and then I will stay so long abroad until riper years may in me challenge the disposal of myself: then shall I come home free from those fears that now hold my soul in continual anguish; and enjoying your favor, shall in one short hour recompense all the torments that I have already suffered, and till then shall suffer, for your sake; which happiness, if my constancy be by heaven duly rewarded, must outlast an age. But oh," continued he with a deep sigh, "something within me whispers to my soul and biddeth me take heed how I build the hopes of my future joy and bliss upon the continuance of a woman's affection during a long absence." "It is," she said, "some wicked fiend sent from the envious enemy of mankind, that would kindle the tormenting fire of jealousy within your heart, if any such fear as you speak of do breathe there; therefore confidently pluck him out from thence, for that sun that is now declining to the west shall alter his course, and rise where soon he will set, and his beams, which are now the authors of life and vegetation, shall dart cold poison and destruction upon the world, before I suffer my clear flame to burn dim, or the heat that is in my breast to grow faint; but who, alas! can ascertain me that the delights which you are going unto, and the variety of great actions which will daily take up your thoughts, and the rare beauty of accomplished and ingenious ladies which you shall see, may not in time make you forget your love, your faith, to a poor maid that hath nothing to plead for her, but her infinite love to you:" with the last of which words, her declining lids did let fall some drops of crystal upon her modest crimson cheeks, which showed like the morning dew upon a bed of roses that seem to weep because the sun maketh no more haste to display their beauty; which Theagenes drying with his lips, was some time before he could frame this answer. "Dearest lady and mistress, from the knowledge

of yourself you may have entire certainty of my love and faith; for since the world hath nothing of greater perfection than you are, you need not doubt that the sight of a fairer object can ever dispossess you of your right: besides, the consideration of the nature of love may quiet those thoughts, for it uniteth and transformeth the lover into the object beloved; it is a free gift of the will of the lover to the person beloved, making her the mistress, and giving her absolute power of it; and the will having command and sovereignty over all other faculties and parts of a man, it carrieth them along with it; so that his will being drowned and converting itself into hers, the like doth all the rest, and thus they become one, by the transmutation of the lover into the person beloved; which action not being through natural constraint, nor violent and painful, but free and voluntary, and delightful, it is neither subject to the vicissitudes and changes of natural things, nor to be interrupted or destroyed by any other means, but by the same will that first freely gave it, which in me being now yours as long as you will foster it and keep the knot fast on your side, nothing can untie it or wear it out: therefore continue but what you are in respect of your love to me, and neither time, nor distance, nor other beauties, nor all the conspiracies of hell can make me other than what I am: which is, and in that title I most glory myself, your devoted slave."

With these and other pleasing discourses of like nature, the two happy lovers passed that afternoon, till the setting sun going down in a cloud, seemed, as being careful in their behalfs, to be angry at their so long stay there; which, by leaving the rest of their company all that while, might give new grounds of jealousies to them that might think absence had worn out all the print of their young and immature love: as indeed it did; for although they had framed a fair excuse of color their being away as the . . . [Four lines are here obliterated.] . . . she was so far gone, and Theagenes, in humanity to help her, beyond their knowledge in the wild forest that they wandered up and down as in a labyrinth, till by chance they met a keeper that put them in a right path; yet Arete would not be persuaded but that it might be some sparks of former love were yet alive in her son's

breast, which by keeping him near the original flame might soon cause a fire too great for her to put out. Therefore, if before she was slow, she now used all the diligence she could to hasten her son's intended journey to Athens, whither he was first to go, to spend some time in study in that university; and discovering her jealousy to Artesia, who of her own nature was apt enough to receive them, was a means that she demeaned herself with such coldness from thenceforward towards Stelliana, that she, conjecturing the cause of it, did shortly take a fair occasion of leaving her, having first made her a noble present of a jewel that would manifoldly countervail her expenses in entertaining her; and from thence went to Corinth where she might hope best to receive news of her Theagenes, and to have means to convey hers unto him.

Their stars were so favorable to them as to permit them to have there one interview before the departure of Theagenes; when they both renewed the protestations of their affections and vows of constancy; and Theagenes presented her with a diamond ring which he used to wear, entreating her, whensoever she did cast her eyes upon it, to conceive that it told her in his behalf, that his heart would prove as hard as that stone in the admittance of any new affection; and that his to her should be as void of end as that circular figure was; and she desired him to wear for her sake a lock of her hair which she gave him; the splendor of which can be expressed by no earthly thing, but it seemed as though a stream of the sun's beams had been gathered together and converted into a solid substance. With this precious relic about his arm, whose least hair was sufficient to tie in bonds of love the greatest heart that ever was informed with life. Theagenes took his journey into Attica, and spent some time in Athens,[1] till the heat of the year coming on, and the plague raging in that populous city, so that all those that had any possibility of subsistence in another place, left it, he retired himself to a little city called Marathon, inferior to none in all that country for wholesomeness of air, beauty of buildings, pleasure of situation, abundance of provisions, and courtesy of persons of quality that inhabit there. He had not been long

[1] For Attica read France, and for Athens Paris, throughout. Marathon is Angers.

here, enjoying the greatest content that any place could afford him where Stelliana was not present, but the warlike sound of horrid arms, of neighing horses, and of loud trumpets, proclaiming civil dissensions, were heard there to fright away the sweet tranquillity which reigned in this till then happy place: the occasion whereof will not be displeasing to relate from the first beginnings.

IV

THE King of Attica[1] being a prince of active spirits, and from his cradle trained in wars, in which he was so fortunate that he had thereby confirmed himself in his kingdom, which had first long wrestled with him, being weary of a long and dull peace, had raised a formidable army, which being every way complete in all other preparations belonging thereunto, and of most terror, because of himself that commanded it; so great was his reputation. Greece and the neighbor world trembled with the expectation where that cloud would disburden itself, for he had made none acquainted with his intentions: when, in the midst of his great thoughts, which certainly balanced empires, and attended by his principal nobility, a poor mean vassal of his, whose name had never been charactered in ink but for this fact, so inglorious he was, delivered the world of many fears, by thrusting a dagger into the King's heart, as he was going in glory to take a view of his army, and to crown his wife queen with wonted ceremony; intending to leave her regent in his absence. Thus all these vast preparations vanished, and served for nothing but to express in lively colors the frailty of human designs.

His son was immediately proclaimed and crowned king, but being under age, the power and management of affairs remained with his mother, who, being a woman of great judgment and strong parts, carried business with a high hand; which she did the rather, because some of the princes of Attica, being of turbulent spirits, seemed to disdain her sex and the rule of a stranger, she being daughter to the prince of Ephesus. And having none there that she might repose confidence in, she cast the beams of her favor upon a gentle-

[1] What follows is of course an account of the disorders in France on the death of the great King Henry IV.

man of her country; whom, from a younger brother of an obscure family, she soon raised to the highest degrees of honor that a subject can attain unto. But he, like one whose eyes were dazzled and brain failed by being set in too high a place, forgot his first beginnings, and grew so insolent that the peers of Attica could not brook his greatness; and envy being an inseparable companion to the fortune of a favorite, it was more than whispered abroad that he intended to possess himself of that kingdom, and that the Queen entertained him in her favor chiefly to satisfy her loose and unchaste desires; to which the great and untimely familiarity that she used with him, and the comely composure of his body seemed to give credit.

Whereupon some of the principal of the nobility possessed the King with fears of his own safety, and a deep apprehension of his mother's dishonor, which reflected upon him; while the Queen and her favorite nothing doubted the immaturity of his years and the slowness of his nature to be any interruption to their designs. But overmuch security was their overthrow; for by that means he got the marquis into his power, and then by performing an action of much resolution, he gave testimony how slow natures, when they are once thoroughly warmed, retain that heat with much constancy; for he caused the marquis to be slain without any form of process, and confined his mother to a little town two or three days' journey from the court, with a strong guard upon her.

But what cannot fury do in a woman's breast? for she, being impatient at her imprisonment, at the loss of her friend, at the stain of her honor, and at her sequestration from the government, found soon a means to gain her liberty, by the assistance of one of the princes of that country, that had been very faithful to her husband, and was of great power and in high reputation for a soldier. Being at liberty, after many treaties of accommodation, which in the end proved of little effect, she retired herself to Marathon, where she was confident of a strong party, intending there to raise forces, which she gave out were to remove some evil counselors that were about the King her son: for pretenses of justice and holiness are never wanting to any undertaking, be it never so undue, wicked, and unjust.

Her hopes here failed not; for in a small time, she had got together such an army, as was deemed not only sufficient to resist any violence the King could use, but of force enough, without the other succors which were daily expected, to set upon him and work her own conditions: yet the advice of the ancient soldiers prevailed, which was, to expect the coming of the other troops, that they might jointly go with an united and solid strength to prosecute their designs: while in the meantime the King, on his part, used all the diligence that might be to levy forces. But the Queen and her party conceived his difficulties to be so great in that, and themselves so secure in that place, which was compassed in with rivers, and inaccessible when the bridges were broken down, and the passages guarded, that they expected nothing less than the arrival of the King: so that while she was to stay here in expectance of her other troops, she entertained herself with masques, feasts, musics, and such other recreations as might make time slide more pleasingly by her . . . [Here a portion of the Manuscript is obliterated.]

Theagenes, coming one masque-night to the court with the company that importuned him to go along with them, was by one of the ladies, that had known him at Athens, taken out to dance; in which he behaved himself in such sort, that whether it were the gracefulness of his gesture, wherein the commendations of art was the least thing he aimed at, or that the heavens had ordained he should be the punisher of the Queen's affections, she felt at the first sight of him a secret love, which soon grew so violent that it made her forget her own greatness, and compelled Theagenes, in order to preserve his constancy for Stelliana, to quit the court; and he caused it to be reported that he was murdered in the tumult which arose in consequence of the Queen having disbanded her forces, upon her reconciliation with the King her son, after the battle of Marathon.

Soon after, he transported himself over the sea into Ionia,[2] intending to spend some time in that pleasant climate, where the sun seemed to cast more propitious beams than upon any other place; for in fruitfulness of the soil it may well be termed the garden of the world; and the cities of it, which

[2] Italy.

are many, being every one under a several lord, the territories of them are so small, and the means of extending themselves, by doing great actions abroad, so little, that those who have noble minds must apply themselves to contemplative and academic studies, wherein their spirits working upon themselves, they are so refined, that for matters of wit, civility, and gentleness, these parts may be the level for the rest of the world to aim at.

Here Theagenes resolved to detain himself some time, as well to give himself the content of noble and learned conversation, as also to practice such exercises as befit a gentleman to have learned, and are the worthiest ornaments of a mind well fraught with interior notions, to attain to perfection, in which here is complete conveniency. Among all these towns, he chose Ephesus [3] for his settled abode; from whence, at his first arrival, he wrote letters to Stelliana to advise her of his health, and to prevent the rumor of his death, which, happily, might come to her ears.

But long and dear experience teacheth us that, in this transitory life, the bad doth manifoldly exceed the good; as, in this particular, it did: for those letters miscarried, and the false news of his death was borne upon the wings of fame with such speed, that, in a very few days after the loss of the battle at Marathon, it was known at Corinth, where it found Stelliana laboring with an impatient desire of hearing of him who was the sole and only object of her loving thoughts.

It is too high a task for my rude pen to draw any counterfeit of the deep sorrow which then took possession of her heart; which was of such a heavy nature, that, at the first, it locked up all her senses as in a dull lethargy; so that, with too deep a sense, she became insensible of grief; but after a while, when she seemed to waken out of a dream by the heart's dispersing abroad of the spirits to be the sad messengers of this doleful news to the other faculties of the soul, that they might bear their part in due mourning, then did her tongue frame such lamentable complaints, as, to have heard them, would have converted the most savage heart into a flood of tears; and yet sorrow sat so sweetly enthroned within

[3] Florence.

her mournful eyes, as would have made the lightest heart in love with those blessed tears, that seemed like the morning dews sprinkled upon Aurora's face.

V

All this while Theagenes, who had written several letters to the goddess of his devotions, the first of which miscarried, and the rest were industriously intercepted and suppressed by his mother, who was jealous of his affection, wondered that he had no return of any of them; so that his doubtful fears, and yet he knew not what to doubt or fear, plunged him into a deep melancholy, from which he daily, upon sundry occasions, interpreted to himself many sad presages of near ensuing disasters.

When, at length, the heart-breaking news of Stelliana's approaching marriage with Mardontius, was brought to him by a gentleman that was lately come from Corinth to Ephesus, intending to spend some time there upon the same occasion that Theagenes did; who, taking it up but upon public fame, delivered it with such circumstances, as went much to the prejudice of her honor. Theagenes then quite forgot the noble temper of his mind, which being by nature composed of an excellent mixture, and, besides, richly cultivated with continual study and philosophical precepts, did formerly stand in defiance of fortune; but now he was so overborne with passion, that he might serve for a clear example to all who may promise most of themselves, that none can be so completely perfect in this life, nor armed against the assaults of passions, but that some one way or other there is an entrance unto him left unguarded, whereby he may be humbled and put in mind, at his own cost, of the frailty of human nature.

For his soul was so overburdened with grief, that his reason, and all that he knew and could advise to others upon like occasions, availed him nothing in his own behalf; but, sinking under that insupportable weight, he became equal with the lowest and meanest natures; but he differed from them much in the manner of expressing it, for, whereas they for the most part yield to tenderness, and bemoan themselves, taking their disasters unkindly at fortune's hands; he, as soon as his

shrunk heart began to dilate itself, broke out into a torrent of fury, cursing all womankind for Stelliana's sake; and was so possessed with anger and disdain, that, if nature had been in his power, he would have turned the world again into a dark chaos.

[Here Kenelm gives at great length his imaginary speeches of reproach. He at length journeys to Spain, which he names Egypt, to aid his uncle, the Earl of Bristol, called Aristobulus, who was then the British ambassador at Madrid.]

Wherefore with this mind, but overclouded with sorrow and deep melancholy, he began his journey for Alexandria, going the first part of it by land, and the rest by sea. In the continuance of which, it was his fortune to fall into the company of a Brahman of India, who shaped his course the same way that he did; which man, as his name giveth him out to be, was one of those that the Indians held in great veneration for their professed sanctity and deep knowledge of the most hidden mysteries of theology and of nature; in which this priest of theirs exceeded most of his time, and yet was possessed with such an ardent desire of bettering his knowledge, that when he conceived he had attained to the complete understanding of such learning as was in practice among them, he left his own native country and friends, and traveled into the western parts of the world to partake of what sciences flourished there.

With this man then, Theagenes, whose mind yet was not altogether out of love with intellectual notions, entered into much familiarity, whereby he had daily more cause not only to admire his wisdom, but withal his grave conversation was mingled with so much grace and with such attractive sweetness, that he grew very affectionate to him, wherein it seemed that the good old man was no whit behindhand with Theagenes; so that one day, as they rid together behind the rest of the company, being grown confident that what he spoke with reverence would be well taken, he said thus to him: "I have found, worthy Theagenes, so much nobleness and generousness in you, accompanied with such friendliness to me that I have reason to thank my stars when first they made me fall into your company; but withal I have upon occasions observed so much sadness and deep conceived grief to sit

upon your brow, that my dear affection to you, which I hope will excuse my presumption, hath oftentimes called upon me, and now at length forceth me, to beseech you, if you may, to communicate the cause of it unto me; that knowing it, if my advice or endeavors may avail to do you service, I may employ them; or at the least, if I cannot help you, I may condole with you your misfortunes."

"Reverend Sir," answered then Theagenes with a deep sigh, "anything concerning me is not worthy your thoughts, which are always employed in divine and high speculations; but since you descend so low as to take notice of the outward apparel of my afflicted mind, I will give you thus much satisfaction herein, as to tell you that my misfortunes are such as it is not in the power of any man to remedy them; and then it is not reason that so desertless a consideration should draw an unprofitable compassion from you to disturb that quiet joy that your mind resteth happy in." "But," replied the priest, "if you will not acquaint me with the particular, give me leave to tell you in general, that no accident can be so bad in this life, but that the celestial bodies have power to turn it to good.

"I would to God," said then Theagenes, "that you were as well pleased in instructing me, as I am delighted in learning of you; then would I desire the clearing of a matter which you touched upon in this discourse, since I must confess I remain much satisfied in this concerning the operations of the stars; and I conceive it will not be abruptly moved by me now, considering that the practice which dependeth upon the theorical knowledge of what I desire to be informed of, hath a near affinity to the science of the stars; and, if we may credit rumor, is often joined to it by the professors of the other, when that proveth defective."

"Let no other motive," replied the Brahman, "but your being weary of my ignorant discourses detain you from proposing any doubt you have unto me, and I shall strive the best that I can to deliver the knowledge of truth unto you; wherein, although I must acknowledge myself to have been but a weak proficient, yet the desire I have to answer your expectation of me, I find doth exalt my soul to higher notions than otherwise it would have; so that if I speak anything to

the purpose, you are the cause of it, and I must thank you for it."

"I perceive," replied Theagenes, "that courteous language is not confined to princes' palaces, since you, who have ever studied things and not words, are so complete a master therein. You intimated that upon some occasions angels and devils do interpose themselves in our actions; which is a doctrine so contrary, in my opinion, to the rule of reason, that I must confess I cannot make myself capable of it. But before I go any farther, I desire to know your opinion whether it be in their natural power to do the least action that may be imagined upon any corporeal object, or so much as to appear to our eyesight, either by deluding our sense or assuming a fantastic body of air?"

"Surely," answered the Brahman, "if I should entertain the least doubt of it, I should repugn too grossly against the authority of innumerable classical writers and believed histories, and against daily experience; and if you do, I will undertake to reduce you with ease and suddenly out of this error. He is a weak man that will destroy that masterpiece which with much labor he hath brought to pass, when for the present he hath no more use of it, and so upon every occasion must begin that work wholly anew; when after much patience, and by abstracting my thoughts from sensual objects, and raising my spirit up to that height that I could make right use of those powerful names which this art teacheth, I got a real and obedient apparition as I desired; then, by virtue of the same names, I bound the spirit that I had called into a hallowed book which I had prepared of purpose, and always carry about with me: and that I no sooner open and call him by his name, which is well known to me, but he presently obeyeth whatsoever I command: and thus without any unlawful pact or wicked means, a man cometh to have him his slave and servant, who of his own nature is his chiefest enemy. Therefore now I have told you what I can do, there remaineth but that you express your will, and I will see it fulfilled."

The horror of the thought to have any communication, though at never so great a distance, with infernal spirits, made Theagenes remain some time in suspense; but in the

end, the seeing of the means so near him to satisfy his anxious mind in the particulars of what he yet but obscurely and generally understood, did so stir up and inflame his restless thoughts, beyond the learned curiosity of being informed of the truth herein, which the other did in a manner drown, it did so far exceed it, that he now forgot all other respects, and addressed his speech in this manner to the Indian magician: "This last obligation, reverend Sir, in communicating with me the most recluse mysteries of your profound sciences, exceedeth my possibility of thanks; but you may judge what a deep sense I have of it, since that alone shall draw from me the confession of what formerly your much urging me could not, and which nothing but my solitary pillow, continually wet with my abundant tears, or some sequestered desert place, have heard me tell: I mean the sad cause of my eternal sorrow, which, though I strived to disguise yet you straight observed. Lend then your ears to the short story of long and remediless grief.

"My malevolent stars, whom now by you instructed, I believe do rule men's fortunes and actions by their influence, engaged my affections to the fairest lady that ever displayed her golden tresses to the less beautiful sun. In her I lived, and she a while in me, if with the magic of her enchanting looks she had not also sucked in the art of deep dissimulation and deceit. To her I vowed my virgin affections, and she hers to me; which vows were renewed between us when I last left her, and with her the best part of my soul and all my joys; but since, ah! cursed change, I hear that she hath forgot her serious and religious protestations, and hath entertained into her false breast a new affection, with dishonorable and impure flames. It is but a wild and imperfect relation that hath yet come to me, but such as did at the instant almost strike me dead, and hath made me ever since hate my life. Now my desire is, since you do not confine it within any bounds, that I may be particularly informed of all passages concerning her since I last saw her; so that I may either from the truth, which yet may be disguised or overshadowed to me, draw some ground of comfort, at least of less sorrow, or else have a perfecter knowledge of her unworthiness and my misery, since suspended and

uncertain thoughts is the greatest anguish that can happen to the mind. This, then, is the cause of my sorrow, and the sum of what I desire."

He had scarce drawn his sorrowful relation to an end, which was interrupted with such deep sighs, as though his heart would have followed his words, when the Magician drew out of his bosom a little book inclosed in a leaden cover, and the leaves of it made of the thin and membraneous skins of unborn lambs, which were inscribed with various figures, and pentacles and sigils of sundry colors; which opening, he said, "Now I will confirm what I have spoken, and give you complete satisfaction in what you request, whereunto all circumstances are propitious; the day being clear and serene, the sun having got the victory of all the obscure clouds that this morning would have darkened his beams, and the place where we chance now to be in so opportune, that we cannot wish a better."

With that, they alighted from their horses, and went some distance out of the path, among the trees that grew thick there, while all the way the Brahman kept his eyes fixed upon the magical characters of his, as he called it, sacred book, and murmured to himself words of a strange sound. But they had not gone far when Theagenes of a sudden stopped, and held the Priest that was going forwards, and pointed to him with his hand to that object that stayed his steps.

It was a lady sitting upon a broken trunk of a dead and rotten tree, in a pensive posture, so that but part of her face was discovered to them, but the general composure of her limbs was so admirable, that Theagenes doubted whether it were a goddess or a human creature. Her radiant hair hung disheveled upon her white shoulders, and together with them, was covered with a thin veil that from the crown of her head reached to the ground, through which they shined as the sun doth through a pale cloud, and sometimes without that eclipsing shade did send out direct and unbroken beams, and so doubled the day of beauty; which was caused by a gentle air, that, as being jealous of that senseless veil, did blow it ever and anon away, and played with those bright hairs, adding new curled waves to those that nature made there. In her fair face one might discern lilies and roses admirably mixed;

but in her lips the rose alone did sit enthroned in sweet majesty; her eyes, as being niggardly of casting away their heart-piercing beams, were hid by her modest lids, which so veiled love's treasure and theirs; her swelling breast did expose to view of greedy eyes his naked and miraculous snow, where love, though he were frozen, would recover heat again; part of her swelling bosom appeared, but the greater part an envious vest did cover; her cheek reposed upon her alabaster hand, and her courteous sleeve discovered most part of her fair arm, which rested upon her knee, while she with her sighs seemed to talk with her own thoughts. Whether she then wept or no he could not well discern, but might perceive her cheeks moist with a precious dew, and the hairs of her eyelids bedecked with orient pearls, which seemed like the pleasing drops of a gentle summer shower while the sun shineth.

He remained a while as in a trance through astonishment at this unexpected and fair sight, till the Magician coming nearer to the melancholy lady, she, as though she had been diverted from the train of her meditations by the noise that he made in coming towards her, turning her head that way, rose suddenly up, and then Theagenes knew the face of his once beloved Stelliana, which seemed to be overclouded with grief, but so that sorrow there looked more lovely than joy could do in any other place.

He then felt a strange conflict within himself between love and disdain, each of which by turns set their ensigns in his face as they had the better in his heart; sometimes fire would sparkle in his eyes, and his inflamed looks give evident sign of the anger that boiled within him; but then straight a congealed paleness would witness his repentance for his former rash thoughts. But in the end the most humane passion got the victory, for certainly a true love can never turn to hate; and how could it be otherwise, but that his heart must yield when the powerful object was in his presence, which could not banish love, though it were eclipsed with sorrow, in so long an absence, and having so seeming a just cause? Not being able then any longer to contain himself, he ran towards her, and kneeling down, offered to take her snowy hand, and was beginning to speak, when a greater wonder drew him to

silent admiration; for when he thought he had taken her by the hand, he found that he grasped nothing but air, which discourteously fled from his embraces; as also three several times that he strived to take hold of the hem of her garment, so many times he found himself deceived.

But then the Brahman coming to him and raising him up, told him how this was nothing but a vision procured by his art, and that that spirit should answer him to whatsoever he demanded; and that he chose this form to make him appear in, to the end that he might judge by the true resemblance of her countenance and posture, the quality and temper of her mind; which he said to have been really such ever since the news of his death, and that the greatness of her sorrow was the origin and cause of her misfortune and his affliction.

Theagenes then cried out, "I now believe that infernal spirits can transform themselves into the appearance of angels of light; and since you would take upon you the shape of such a one, you have done discreetly to choose hers that is the perfectest work that God hath created."

Then he began to question the spirit concerning her whom he represented, and had a large relation of what you have already heard; all which he as greedily listened unto, as the poor prisoner at the bar doth to an unexpected sentence of absolution that the judge favorably pronounceth in his cause; for he evidently saw that she could not be accused of an unworthy mind, or of a depraved will, or of inconstant affection; but that it was the unjustness of fortune, or, at the worst, a little indulgency of a gentle nature which sprung from some indiscretion, or rather want of experience, that made her liable to censure. After he had satisfied himself in every particular, and that he could bethink himself no more to ask, he felt his heart swell with a tender passion which even melted it, and made him as one drunk with joy, understanding that her soul was pure and her mind the same that he ever believed it to be.

But strong affection being always accompanied with doubts and fears, the edge of his joy was taken off, when he considered who it was that gave him this relation; but as he remained wavering in himself, irresolute which way his belief should sway, the spirit spoke thus again to him: "Although

it be denied both to blessed angels and to us, to know the secrets of hearts and the simple meditations of the soul within itself; yet when the thoughts go beyond those bounds, and make any of the interior senses the seat of their agitation, then they are plain and manifest to us; so that I now read in thy fantasy and know thy doubts and fears as well as thyself; and the little credit thou dost give to my words. It might satisfy thee to know that those powerful exorcisms that have bound me where I am, do also bind me to obedience and truth; but thou shalt have a more material testimony to witness for me that I know and speak truth, and that within a few days; therefore, when thou shalt find thyself in the midst of a troop of armed men, and having no other weapon but thy sword, shall wound most of them, and save thy own life by killing two, the principal of them: then remember that I have foretold thee of it, and believe what I have said of Stelliana's integrity, and that in despite of all oppositions and both your strongest resolutions, you two must be joined in one sacred knot; for none can change, though a while they may struggle with fate.'' And with that he suddenly vanished out of their sight, the Brahman having formally licensed him, and shut his book, when he perceived by the silence of Theagenes that he had no more to ask.

VI

It was not long before the accomplishment of what this spirit prophesied, purchased in him a greater confidence in the rest that he had said: for after Theagenes had embarked himself to follow on his intended journey, a favorable wind in a short time brought him to Alexandria;[1] whither he sent a servant one day before him to provide him a convenient house near the Ambassador's, and other necessaries; and the next day came thither himself, and the first thing he did was to go kiss the hand of his kinsman Aristobulus,[2] who received him with all the demonstration of joy and honor that might be, and caused him to stay supper with him; after which he sent his son Leodivius, with many of his servants and torches, to accompany him to his lodging, which was not far off.

[1] Madrid.
[2] Earl of Bristol, Kenelm's uncle.

But the night had slided so insensibly away while they were in their pleasing conversation, it being the nature of long absence of dear friends to cause at their first encounter much greediness of enjoying each other, that when they came out of the house they found the streets quiet and no living creature stirring in them; and the moon, which was then near the full, shining out a clear light upon them, so that the coolness and solitude was the greatest sign that it was not noonday. Wherefore they caused the lights and other servants to stay there, who then could serve but for vain magnificence, and Theagenes sent his servants to his lodging before, while he, and Leodivius, and another gentleman, that Leodivius took with him to accompany him, that he might not return all alone to his father's house, came softly after, sucking in the fresh air, and pleasing themselves in the coolness of the night which succeeded a hot day, it being then in the beginning of the summer: but as they were entertaining themselves in some gentle discourse, a rare voice, accompanied with a sweet instrument, called their ears to silent attention, while with their eyes they sought to inform themselves where the person was that sung, when they saw a gentlewoman in a loose and night habit, that stood in an open window supported like a gallery with bars of iron, with a lute in her hand, which with excellent skill she made to keep time with her divine voice, and that issued out of as fair a body, by what they could judge at that light, only there seemed to sit so much sadness upon her beautiful face, that one might judge she herself took little pleasure in her own soul-ravishing harmony.

The three spectators remained attentive to this fair sight and sweet music, Leodivius only knowing who she was, who coming a little nearer towards the window, fifteen men all armed, as the moon shining upon their bucklers and coats of mail did make evident, rushed out upon him with much violence, and with their drawn swords made so many furious blows and thrusts at him, that if his better genius had not defended him it had been impossible that he could have outlived that minute; but he, nothing at all dismayed, drew his sword, and struck the foremost of them such a blow upon the head, that if it had not been armed with a good cap of steel, certainly he should have received no more cumber from that

man; yet the weight of it was such that it made the Egyptian run reeling backwards two or three steps, and the blade, not able to sustain such a force, broke in many pieces, so that nothing but the hilts remained in Leodivius's hand; who seeing himself thus disarmed, suddenly recollected his spirits, and using short discourse within himself, resolved, as being his best, to run to his father's house to call for assistance to bring off in safety his kinsman and his other friend, whose false sword served him in the same manner as Leodivius's had done, as though they had conspired to betray their masters in their greatest need.

Here one might see differing effects from like causes, for a like resolute valor without astonishment that caused Leodivius to run discreetly away for succor, caused him to stand still in the place where his sword broke, defending his enemies' blows with the piece that remained in his hand, as being ashamed to leave Theagenes in the midst of so many that strived to take his life from him: but he was soon out of danger by all their pressing beyond him, whom they saw disarmed, to come to Theagenes, who had interposed himself between Leodivius and them that followed him, of which the master of all these bravos was one, so that the rest seeing him engaged in a fierce battle, they all came to assist him.

Theagenes then found himself in great perplexity, for having retired to a narrow place of the street, that he might keep his assailants all in front before him, the overhanging pentises took away the light of the moon, and his enemies having at the top of their bucklers artificial lanterns whose light was cast only forwards by their being made with an iron plate on that side towards the holders, so that their bodies remained in darkness, had not only the advantage of seeing him when he could not see them, but also dazzled and offended his eyes with the many near lights, which made him mistake those objects that dimly he discerned. The number of his enemies, and the disparity of the weapons, might have given him just cause to seek the saving of his life rather by the swiftness of his legs than by an obstinate defense; but he, that did not value it at so high a rate as to think that it could warrant such an action, resolved rather to die in the midst of his enemies, than to do anything that might be interpreted to

proceed from fear: with which resolution he made good the place he stood in, and whensoever any of them were too bold in coming near him, he entertained them with such rude welcomes, that they had little encouragement to make a second return.

After Theagenes had remained some time thus beating down their swords and wounding many of them, and showing wonderful effects of a settled and not transported valor, and that their beginning to slack their fury in pressing upon him gave a little freedom to his thoughts, all his spirits being before united in his heart and hands, he considered how it must certainly be some mistake that made him to be thus treated by men that he knew not, and to whom he was sure he in his particular could have given no offense, being but that day arrived at Alexandria from very remote parts; wherefore he spoke to them in the best manner he could, to make himself understood in a tongue that he was not well master of, and asked what moved them to use him so discourteously that was a stranger there, and was not guilty of having injured any of them.

To these words of his, one that seemed to be of the best quality among them, by a cassock embroidered with gold which he wore over his jack of mail, answered him with much fury in this manner. "Villain, thou liest, thou hast done me wrong which cannot be satisfied with less than thy life; and by thy example let the rest of thy lascivious countrymen learn to shun those gentlewomen where other men have interest, as they would do houses infected with the plague, or the awful thunder that executeth God's righteous vengeance."

These words put all patience out of Theagenes's breast, so that now he dispensed his blows rather with fury than art; but his hand was so exercised in the perfectest rules of true art, that without his endeavors or taking notice, it never failed of making exactly regulated motions, which had such force imparted to them by a just anger, that few of them were made in vain. But at length his enemies, that had bought with much of their blood the knowledge of his power and strength, attempted to do that behind him, which they durst not to his face; for some of them running down a little

lane that was near the place where they fought, made a circuit and came to assault Theagenes behind, which he perceived by a blow upon his shoulders: but it seemed that the fearful giver of it was so apprehensive lest Theagenes should turn about, that his quaking hand laid it on so softly that it did him no hurt, but served to warn him of the danger he was in.

He then perceiving himself thus beset on every side, summoned all his spirits to serve him at this his so great necessity, and choosing to cut his way through the thickest of them, that so it might appear that he wrought his own liberty in despite of their strongest oppositions, did make a quick thrust at him that was nearest before him, which entering within his weapons before he was aware that he had occasion to ward it, Theagenes accompanied it with the whole weight of his body, running on so violently, as the other's jack not giving way, and his sword not yielding, he bore him down, and running over him made him serve for a bridge to cross the kennel.

He being thus acquit of their besieging him, began to retire himself with a settled pace towards the Ambassador's house, but in such a manner, that though his feet carried him one way his face looked another, and his hands sent forwards many bloody messages of his angry spirit; but one of them pressed so eagerly and unwarily upon him, that as he lifted up his sword to make a blow at Theagenes, he avoided it with a gentle motion of his body, and gave him such a strong reverse upon the head, that finding it disarmed, for he had lost his iron cap with much stirring in the scuffle, it divided it in two parts, and his brains flew into his neighbor's face; upon whom Theagenes turned, having thus rid himself of his fiercest enemy, and stepping in with his left leg, made himself master of his sword, and with his own did run him into the belly under his jack, so that he fell down, witnessing with a deep groan that his life was at her last minute.

The other Egyptians by that knew him to be their master, for whose quarrel only they all fought, so that they left Theagenes, and all of them attended to succor their wounded lord; but all too late, for without ever speaking, he gave up his ghost in their arms: while by this means Theagenes, who

received but little hurt, had time to walk leisurely to the Ambassador's house, from whence, upon the alarm that Leodivius gave, many were coming to his rescue with such arms as, hastily, they could recover; the cause of whose coming so late, for he met them half way, was, that it was long before Leodivius, though he knocked and called aloud, could get the gates open; for all in the house were gone to take their rest.

The next day the cause of this quarrel was known; which was, that a nobleman of that country, having interest in a gentlewoman that lived not far from Aristobulus's house, was jealous of Leodivius, who had carried his affections too publicly; so that this night he had forced her to sing in the window where Leodivius saw her, hoping by that means to entice him to come near to her, while he lay in ambush, as you have heard, to take his life from him.

This action made the name of Theagenes known not only in Egypt, but in Morea; whither it was daily carried and related by sundry mouths, who were filled with many other high commendations added to the fame of his valor; so that it was not long before Stelliana had news that Theagenes was not dead; who, if before she lamented the loss of him, had now as much reason to renew the lamentations of her own misfortunes, which, she feared, would make her eternally to lose him, though his other friends had found him again; and thus, in the midst of all their joy, she alone remained in clouds of sorrow.

VII

The daily seeing the Prince of Morea, who was come to visit Egypt, do all princely exercises with singular grace, and his affableness and benignity to all men, made Theagenes in a short time not only dedicate his ordinary attendance to him, but also his heart and all the faculties of his soul: so that he did set himself forward in the noblest manner that he could, and was inferior to none in magnificent expenses, whereby he might make the Prince take notice how desirous he was to do him honor there, and to gain his favor; and for his diligence about his person he soon got the style of a careful servant. But all the glories of the court, and the beauty of the ladies

there, which shined continually like so many stars, could not make him forget, or sweeten his quarrel to womankind in general, for Stelliana's sake: which gave occasion to the Earl of Arcadia,[1] who was Captain of the King of Morea's guard, and a complete courtier, and noted for applying himself very affectionately to the service of ladies, to speak thus one day to him, their familiarity warranting anything that either of them said to the other.

"When I look upon you, Theagenes, methinks I see enough that telleth me your abilities might win you the affection of any lady; but when I consider how you daily pass by the fairest faces without seeming to have any sense of the divine beams of beauty that shine there, I begin to doubt that the fault proceedeth from your mind, which, I understand, hath been trained up continually in scholastical speculations, and hath always conversed with books at such times as you have not exercised your body in the use of arms and managing of horses, and such other disciplines as become a gentleman and a soldier; so that I see there may be excess in the best and most commendable things, for these, that in a moderation may be esteemed chief ornaments, do beget either a dull stupidity or a rude barbarousness in those that adore them too affectionately; and I doubt much that from one of these two causes doth proceed your having no mistress here, where so much beauty reigneth: but I shall fail much of my aim, if, before we go from hence, I do not wean you from your learned modesty, or civilize your martial wildness; one of which certainly it is that maketh your heart so rebellious against the power of fair eyes."

Which when he had said, accompanying his words with smiles, Theagenes answered him in this manner: "You should not censure me before you are certain that I have no mistress, and feel not in my breast the heat of love's flames; which you cannot collect from my concealing them, since you may have a familiar example in the deepest waters, whose streams slide away with least noise; but, if it were so, I should confess that I owe this blessing to the sacred Muses,

[1] Henry Earl of Holland, who accompanied the British prince to Spain. Morea, be it remembered, typifies Britain. The purpose of the Prince's visit was the wooing of a Spanish bride.

which proceedeth then neither from dullness nor want of confidence, as you seem to intimate, but rather it is the soul-ravishing delight which they feed them withal that retire themselves into their sanctuary, that maketh them despise other pleasures as being much below them. But because I will leave you no color for new exceptions, I will apply myself to the service of that great and fair lady for whom you continually sigh, because you receive from her so small encouragement to continue that hitherto unlucky affection of yours; and am so confident of the favor that my learned patronesses may procure me, it being their custom to insinuate themselves with secret sweetness into the most rebellious minds, and to tame the hardest hearts, as I am nothing at all deterred with the consideration that she is the greatest lady of Egypt, and the richest, and of the noblest family, and in highest favor with the Queen; and, hitherto, an enemy to all intimations of love. But, because my conquest may be the more glorious by having a worthy rival, I will engage you to continue your suit, lest when you see me to have got the start of you, you may give over your course, pretending the change of your affection, when, indeed, it is the barrenness of your hopes: therefore name what wager you will venture upon the success of our loves, which the most fortunate man therein shall win, and the Prince shall be our judge."

This overture, made by Theagenes with some earnestness, pleased the Earl very well, who ordered the quality of the wager should be at the loser's discretion; he being confident to have the advantage in his suit, since his passion was real, and the other's but feigned; besides that, in every respect for the mysteries of the court and of winning ladies' affections, wherein he had long experience with happy success, he preferred himself much before Theagenes, who was yet scarce entered into his apprentissage there.

But what cannot continual industry bring to pass? and especially with women, whose hearts, for the most part, to those that can take the true height of them, are made of gentle and yielding substance? Certainly it supplieth for all defects, even the want of love, as was evident in Theagenes's suit; whose personated affection won such a real one from Mauricana, that she lived only in him: and this she expressed

in such a public manner, that the Earl, who had never seen towards himself from her other than the effects of a disdainful mistress, could not choose but acknowledge it, and giving over his fruitless labor, yielded the loss of his wager to Theagenes; who, till then, never omitted any occasion of endearing himself into the affection of his princely lady. For whensoever she went abroad, he was the next to attend her chair; if she went to any place of devotion, he went too, but behaved himself so there as if she were the only saint that he came in pilgrimage unto; if she were a spectator to any public entertainment, as of tilting or the like, he would there make himself known for her servant by wearing the livery of her colors, and clothing his servants correspondently; and at any comedy or masque at the court where she was present, he would teach his eyes in their dumb language to beg her favors so effectually, that many times in public conferring them upon him, she did exceed that reservedness which is practiced among the ladies of those parts; so that she was not a little censured by many that knew no more of her but by the outward face of her actions.

And the fame of Theagenes's dearness with this so great lady, the first of the bedchamber to the Queen, and of a vast wealth, was soon dispersed through all Morea; where, with his friends, it wrought different effects: for it added to Stelliana's deep sorrow, who, though she neither hoped nor desired anything for herself, so broken was her heart, yet she felt a kind of repining that another should enjoy that place which was once hers, and that her misfortunes had made her lose; and others of his friends, whose affection was accompanied with fondness, were grieved in the midst of their joy for his good hap, doubting that the advantages which she would bring him, if he married her, would cause him to settle himself with her in that country, whereby they should lose him. But the discreetest of those that loved him, not only rejoiced at his fortune, but advised him and daily solicited him to delay no time in effecting what they understood she much desired, which was to marry her; but if they had known how opposite the motions of his heart were to his exterior demonstrations, and what was the ground of them, they would never have lost time about this fruitless counsel.

In the mean season great differences arose between the Egyptian King and the Prince of Morea, and their ministers; of all which the vices of Hephæstion [2] were the originary causes; for he having excluded Aristobulus from the managing of affairs, would have them carried and concluded only between the Egyptian favorite and himself: but it soon appeared how unequally they were matched, for the one having been always trained up in a constant way of state businesses, and Hephæstion having never attended to other than courtly exercises, and to give himself delight, and to so much of business as concerned the satisfying of his will or avarice, was soon overreached by the Egyptian, and reduced into such disadvantageous straits, that he could not recover himself out of them but by falling out with him; and this, added to some other vices of his, . . . by the immodest and insatiable love of women, wherein he strived to satisfy himself without respect to fame, that it imported him to conceal his affections from, made him grow to be much hated and scorned in that court; which he perceiving, and having received some bitter affront in matter of his mistresses, he grew into a rancorous detestation of the causers of them, and resolved to set up his rest upon the overthrowing those treaties, and breaking the peace between those crowns; foreseeing that otherwise he could not avoid his own ruin.

Whereupon he wrought so much with the Prince, that he gave his consent to return hastily into Morea, wherein he showed that his affection to his friend prevailed above his own judgment, and above his love to his mistress, for he sticked not to express to some that were about him that he saw no other reason for his sudden departure, more than Hephæstion's earnest solicitation; and that he discerned so much sweetness, and so many perfections, accompanied with excellent beauty, in the King's sister, that he conceived no lady in the world so worthy of his affections as she was. But the other respect prevailed above all these; so noble a testimony he gave of a Prince's constancy in his friendship; for many conceived that he loved Hephæstion only because

[2] Hephæstion is the Duke of Buckingham, the evil favorite of both King James I of England and his son, afterward King Charles I. The picture here drawn of Buckingham is amply confirmed.

he had once chosen to love him, and not because he still judged that he deserved it.

Among the rest that provided to attend the Prince in his return, Theagenes was one; which was no sooner known by Mauricana but she sent for him, and there used all the powerful means to divert this his intention that an entreating beauty is mistress of; sometimes endearing her own extreme affection to him, which she would raise in value by recounting the scornful disdains wherewith she had paid great Princes' loves; then by taxing him with falsehood and treachery, in inveigling away her heart to make it serve only for a trophy of his inhuman cruelty; then by representing the advantages which his match with her would bring him; but most of all she relied upon the force of her fair eyes and charming looks: but when she saw that nothing would prevail for the obtaining of the main of her desire, she sought at least to win time for the present, hoping that when the Prince was gone, she might the more easily work his heart to her desires, and therefore only sued to him to stay while the stormy season made it unsafe to pass the seas; that in that while she might, by little and little, teach her soul how to bear her future misery, and not be plunged into it unkindly all at once. But Theagenes, whose very bowels were then even torn in pieces between a sad constancy and tender pity, strived all he could to sweeten her passions, and to excuse the expression of his affections, which he said that he perceived she mistook, for that he never made approaches otherwise than in a courtly manner, as desiring to be called her knight, which title he would still maintain by all the real service that it might challenge from him, and should attend mindful with singular delight of the great favor she had done him; but that his affections had once been, though unfortunately, engaged elsewhere with too great force, to place them upon any other object; and that, for the present, he was obliged to attend the Prince his master, into whose service, in an honorable place, he was now received. But all that he could say availed no more to the cure of her mind, than the speeches of ignorant standers-by do, to bring health to one that lieth burning in a violent fever; so that, when he left her, she remained wedded to sorrow and despair; and not long after,

seeing she could not have him whom only she thought worthy of her, she left the world, that afforded to her but a constant succession of continual torments, and consecrated the rest of her days to a worthier spouse, among other vestal virgins of noble quality.

The winds and seas seemed to rejoice in the Prince's return, and to delight in the glorious navy that was committed to them; for they all conspired to make him have a fair passage; who, disembarking in the first port that he could fetch, took post horses, that with the greater speed he might give his father the content of seeing him; who was at Corinth, longing to hear good news of him, which he himself was the first messenger of. Upon his arrival there, that city made all the affectionate demonstrations of a hearty and unfeigned joy that could be imagined, for the safe return of their much loved and most hopeful lord, whom they feared was in a place of much danger, and with a king in whose faith the people had little confidence, and the like did the country throughout; so that it was apparent that no Prince could be dearer to his subjects than he was, and therefore had all his enemies, if his goodness could admit of any, much reason to fear when they saw so firm a knot and union between the commander and the obeyers.

But Theagenes could not be a witness of the joyful acclamations that accompanied his master to the court; for he had no sooner set his feet upon the shore, but that a great indisposition took him, which hindered his journey thither, and the attendance on his lord for some days.

In the meantime Hephæstion knowing, that the vulgar sort of the kingdom were disaffected to the alliance with Egypt, and that there could be no better way to break that treaty than to make them judges of it, who would be as partial hearers as he could be a relater, he prevailed so much with the King, that he made a general convocation of the three estates of the kingdom, consisting of the clergy, the nobility, and some chosen persons to represent the body of the commons, to give their advice in this weighty affair; which he opened to them, making a narration from the beginning to that present, how all matters stood between the King of Egypt and his master, wherein he mingled many falsities

with truths, and wrested the appearances of many things to a false sense; so that the assembly was so inflamed with fury against that king, and possessed with belief that there was no faith in his proceedings, that they unanimously besought the King of Morea to break off all treaties with that perfidious nation, as they termed it, and denounce them war; promising their real assistance as well in serving all of them in person, if need were, as in making larger contributions than could be paralleled in any other war by any example of subjects to their King.

VIII

THEAGENES made more haste to Corinth [1] than his indisposition would well give way unto: and the day that he arrived there, the sun, that was then taking his leave of the northern signs to go his progress to his farthest southward declination, shined out more comfortable and glorious beams than it had done of many days before; which was the reason that many persons of quality came out in their coaches into the fields to refresh their spirits, with sucking in the free and warmed air. Among whom Stelliana was one, whose sight surprised and astonished Theagenes, like one come suddenly from a dark prison to too great a light, who met her directing of her course abroad, even as he was entering in at the gates of the city.

After so long absence her beauty seemed brighter to him than when he left her: but she sate so pensively in one side of the coach by herself, as Apelles might have taken her counterfeit to express Venus sorrowing for her beloved Adonis: yet howsoever by her habits and her sadness, her brighter beams might seem to be in part eclipsed, they did nevertheless disperse themselves so forcibly abroad, that the sun seemed to grow pale at her appearance, as being dazzled with a greater light than his own, and wept so bitter a shower to see that an earthly face had the victory of his, which now for shame he hid behind a cloud, that she was constrained to return back, while her coach, that was honored with carrying her, might be esteemed much nobler than that studded with carbuncles, and hyacinths, which Aurora

[1] London.

sitteth in, when from her beautiful tresses she shaketh upon the earth the delightful morning dews that she hath gathered in the moist ocean.

Theagenes was no sooner alighted at his lodging, but that he sent a servant to find out Stelliana's, and to receive her leave that he might come the next day to visit her, whither he went at the appointed time, with resolution only to please himself in so fair a sight, deeming her unworthy of his more serious affection, whom he conceived had so soon forgot her vows made to him at his going out of Morea. But surely, he did unjustly in censuring her before he heard her defense from her own mouth; and in her presence he had cause to fear that by so great a light it might succeed to him as to the indiscreet fly, that through his own fondness, burneth his wings by playing with the flame.

It is too great for me to describe the motions of their hearts and souls at their first meeting; nor can it be conceived by any but such as have loved in a divine manner, and have had their affections suspended by misfortunes and mistakes: therefore I will only mention the subject of their discourse, which was the challenging each other of much unkindness; she him, for not giving her timely advertisement of his health, which would have prevented the inconveniences grown by his rumored death; and he her, for giving too sudden credit to it, and so soon bestowing her affections upon another; whereunto both of them used their best endeavors to discharge themselves and fasten the blame upon the other; but in conclusion they both saw that there was more of misfortune in it, than of fault on either side: which was the cause that Theagenes made often visits to her, and she willingly received them: yet he, resolving not to engage his affections too far, the first knot being by her broken, because of the doubtful rumor that Mardontius had once had much interest in her affections.

But withal her excessive beauty and gracefulness did so win upon his senses, that after some time, when he thought he had reëstablished himself in a good place of her well-liking, he attempted her to consent to his passion, and prosecuted his suit with all the vehemence and subtlety that an earnest and well experienced lover could use, without mention

of any provision to her honor; which she no sooner perceived, but that her heart swelling with a noble anger and disdain, she banished him from her presence, and it was a long time before he could take off that hard sentence, though he daily offered up to her indignation much sorrow and unfeigned signs of deep repentance, which, in the end, so much prevailed with her generous soul, which yet was full of affection and did but resent his disrespect as her honor claimed of her, that she admitted him again into her favor, and made as much demonstration of it as before: so that now their hearts were joined in a fraternal affection, and their manner of living, each towards other, confuted the opinion of those who hold that the laws of a high and divine friendship cannot be observed where a woman hath a part.

In the meantime, Clericius, that was of the Prince's bedchamber, and esteemed to be in his favor more than any there, became an earnest suitor to her to receive him to her husband; but by her refusal was justly punished for his disdain of other women: for he was so hard to please in the choice of a wife, that of many advantageous overtures which had been made unto him, he would accept of none; but declared himself that until he did meet with such a woman as both for mind and body, he could wish nothing to be mended in her, he would live a single life. Certainly, his resolution being such, if Stelliana had not been born in this age, he would never have known what love had been: but when he had grown into her acquaintance, then he said that he believed nature had been oversparing of her blessings to all other women, on purpose to heap all imaginable perfections upon one, so that her power might be the more admired. When he saw that by himself he could not prevail in obtaining what he so much desired, he discovered the violence of his passions to Theagenes, there being much entireness between them, begotten by their daily conversation in their both serving the same master, and knowing that he sued not to her for himself, but that withal he had an interest in her in an honorable way, he beseeched him, with the greatest adjurations that might be, to endeavor himself in his behalf. Here one may perceive what a divine thing the obligation of friendship is in a generous and gentle heart; for Theagenes,

that would rather have consented to the loss of his life than to see her in another man's possession, his flames daily increasing, became himself a mediator for his friend, to gain him that content that would cause himself eternal sorrow: which he did not in a cold manner, as only to acquit himself of his promise, but used and urged all the arguments that he could to win Stelliana to this match, so much to her advantage in temporal respects.

But all the answer that he could get from her, was a flat denial, alleging that she would never tie herself to any man in other knot than of love and affection; and that her misfortunes had broken and deadened her heart that way. The latter part of which, Theagenes heard with much impatience, because it concerned him so nearly, and did put her in mind how once it was much otherwise, when they lived so happily and joyed only in each other; which caused Stelliana in like manner to tax his change that was now become a suitor for another man; and yet she professed more goodwill to him by infinite degrees than to any one else, if at least a created heart be capable of such extreme distances; with which he rested much contented, and in the best manner that he could, excused himself of his unwilling importunity for his friend, whom he informed how little he could prevail in his suit.

In the meantime Hephæstion, having by sinister means broken the peace and alliance with Egypt, sought to provide likewise so for the future that he might be secure they would not piece again, whereunto he knew the old king to be much inclined; and therefore he endeavored to engage the Prince in some other place, that so there might be an impossibility of his returning to treat of the former match; and considering that there is a perpetual jealousy between the crowns of Athens and of Egypt, lest either should increase in power, he deemed it the most expedient to solicit the King of Athens for his sister; hoping also by this means to draw that Prince with more affection into the league that was making against the King of Egypt.

Whereupon, desiring the negotiation should be speedy and effectual, he resolved to go in person upon this embassage, and therefore made the noblest preparations that might be

for his journey, correspondent to such an employment, and befitting the favorite of so great a King as he served; who, to do him the more grace, appointed several of his own servants and of his sons, of the most eminent quality, to accompany him; among which, Theagenes was one, who upon other like public occasions had given evident demonstrations, that he would be behind none in doing his master and nation honor, and in this he was nothing short of what he formerly had done; but the time of making provision to defray such great and extraordinary expenses was so short, that many of his friends thought he would be much troubled before he could raise so great a sum of money, as he was upon the sudden to lay out; which coming to Stelliana's notice, she greatly rejoiced that she had so apt an occasion to make expression of the much that she would do for Theagenes, were it in her power, and presently took up money upon the best jewels and plate that she had, and engaged such lands as were hers, either in present or in reversion, and having gathered together a large sum, she sent it to Theagenes, entreating him to make use of it without cumbering his estate, which consisting of settled rents, would soon quit a greater debt; and thus she made him at once master of all she had or could hope for. This generous action of hers sunk so deep into his heart, that it was like the throwing in of a great weight into a scale that was before so equally balanced as one could not guess which way it would incline, and so bringeth that side suddenly down; for before he suffered a continual conflict in himself between the consideration of her worth and perfections, and the dissuasions of some of his friends, particularly of his mother, who, as you understood at the beginning of this discourse, was ever averse to his match with Stelliana.

But now that besides the contemplation of those excellencies in general, he had such a clear demonstration of the applying them by her affection to his particular, for greater could not be than to have trusted him with all her estate and fortune, his heart yielded, and he resolved to get her for his wife; and those difficulties which before opposed this action being now overcome, did quicken his resolution, like water that being thrown upon a fire that it cannot extinguish,

maketh it burn with greater violence. But when he had declared his intention and desire to Stelliana, he received from her an answer much contrary to what he expected; the effect of which was a flat refusal, pronounced with much settledness and a constant gravity, grounded by her upon supposed reason and a strange construction of love to him; which yet she could not deliver without many tears, bewailing her misfortune that brought her to these terms, that to be constant to her honor, though therein she had no witness but herself, and to be the surer of her dearest friend's affection, she must deny the just suit of him that she loved above her own life, and refuse that offer that in respect of the world would be most honorable to her, and whereto her wishes were more strongly bent than his; for she acknowledged ingenuously how she had once given her consent to marry Mardontius, and, upon the assurance of that, passed upon both sides, had given him leave to have her picture, which he still kept, and therefore she would never suffer that one man should possess her, and another such a gage of a former, though half-constrained, affection; and that hereafter, in colder thoughts, Theagenes, if the heat and edge of his passion should be somewhat abated, might give another interpretation to her past actions than now he did, and peradventure deem her not so worthy of his affection and respect.

Hereupon Theagenes used the best arguments he could to certify her, as he termed it, wrong judgment, representing to her how his reason was the same that at any time it would be, and his knowledge of her actions being already complete, his judging of them could not alter; and that he did not admit of the level that the vulgar is guided by, who is wholly ruled by opinion, but examined all things according to their reality; and therefore his affection, whose root was in her virtues, and did not spring from any blind passion, was not liable to any intervals of heat or cold. And that for Mardontius, she was free of that promise, he first breaking it, and as for the picture that he had, she could not punish him more than in letting him retain it by him, that so he might continually be put in mind of those joys that his folly bereaved him of, and live, like the damned

souls, whose greatest misery this is, in perpetual despair and curse himself.

But when Theagenes perceived that all he said could not move her fixed mind, but rather increased her sorrow, he ceased to solicit her any more for that time, hoping that afterward he might find a more propitious hour for his suit; which to facilitate by all the means that he could, he sent to Mardontius, by a gentleman, to challenge him to fight with him in mortal duel till one of them were deprived of their life, for that the earth could not bear them both at once; unto whom, when they were in the field together, he declared at large the cause of his enmity with him, taking upon him to be the revenger of the wrong he had done to Stelliana, and by sending him out of the world, to make a way to himself of gaining her.

But Mardontius told him, that he would not fight in this quarrel, for that if he had done her any wrong she had herself too rigorously punished him for it, and by rejecting him after his repentance, made him the only sufferer for it; and that his life could be no object for Theagenes's enjoying her, since he could pretend no interest in her, which if he could have done he would not have lost her when he loved her equal with his own soul, and strived to regain her as much as he could for heaven; and for the picture, if she would not give him leave to keep it, he would restore it to her by Theagenes's conveyance, together with a declaration under his own hand, of what he had already said, and that his tongue spoke false if ever it uttered anything to her dishonor, and a disclaiming of ever having had any interest in her, beyond what the laws of modesty and honor would permit her. With the performance of which, and the restitution of the picture, Theagenes rested satisfied, seeing that he could not prevail with him to draw his sword, and that, indeed, the cause of this desire to fight was taken away by this proceeding and writing of Mardontius; which made him deem him too unworthy to be his enemy.

Theagenes having had this success, and a main part of the difficulties on Stelliana's side being thus taken away, without any loss or hazard of blood, through the meanness of Mardontius's spirit, he returned to her with much joy through

the confidence he had that now he should find no more obstacles in what he so much longed for: but her heart was so settled by being long fixed upon her melancholy resolutions of living for the future a solitary life, that although now the principal causes of them ceased, yet, like water that being made to boil, will not grow suddenly cool though the fire be taken from it, she could not so soon relent or slacken her rigor, that he might from thence draw to himself any ground of hopes. Whereupon, after much solicitation and not prevailing, through despair he read upon himself a doom of much affliction, as the unfortunate and wretched souls shall do in the last day; the heaviest part of which shall be their perpetual banishment from the blessed sight of God; and in like manner he made a vow, that after he had taken his leave now of her, he would never see her more, nor Morea for her sake, but would wander like a lost man through the rest of the world, seeing that hereabouts he could meet with nothing but sad objects that would continually put him in mind of the happiness that he had missed; and the sight of her would be but like the punishment of Tantalus, to increase in him the desire of what he must never enjoy.

To which expression of sorrow made by him, although it were by reflection stronger in her, yet thinking it might be but the violence of a passion which might in time be calmed, or at the least diverted, if it met not with a serious opposition, she answered in this manner, clearing her face with gentle smiles, a habit far differing from what her mind was clothed with. "Certainly, Theagenes, if you love me as much as you would have me believe, your stars are no less cross in teaching you how to express it, than you say mine are in making me take the resolution of ending my days in a single and retired life, for the which, you cannot deny but that I had reason; and if now that may be pretended to cease, yet it hath so sunk into my heart, like a thick dye in which it hath been long bathed, that it can take no other color or impression; but I think you cannot give me the example of any man, that through the abundance of their love to any lady who loved them as you know that I do you, which I take God to witness is as much as ever sister did a brother, did take a resolution and confirm it with a vow of never seeing her more. Is

absence, then, the most expedient means to increase or confirm affections? or peradventure is it, that you are so well acquainted with foreign parts, that all places are alike to you to afford you content, and those best liked of you, where you shall not be in danger to have my true zeal to check your loose delights, and tax you of inconstancy and ingratitude?''

Then after some pause, and changing her forced countenance into the livery of her mind, not being able longer to continue her dissimulation, she proceeded thus: ''If so, and that you were grown weary of loving me, you would have been more gentle to have deceived me a little, and by degrees have instructed me to wind in again my affection and loosen it from you, which now is stretched to the utmost scope that my heart can extend unto; but indeed, it is unkindly done, to make my love the cause of your inconstancy, and to cast off into an ocean of sorrow the near-sinking vessel of my fortune and content, which held but by one anchor, and now must needs suffer shipwreck for your sake.''

The last of which words she sighed out with such a flood of tears, true witnesses of her bleeding heart, that was so deeply wounded with what Theagenes had said, although at the first she strived to disguise it, that he, who thought no sorrow could have exceeded his, was now fain to lay the thought of that aside, to attend to mitigate hers; but his bowels were so shut up and as it were congealed with grief, that it was a long time before he could frame to himself any distinct conceptions, and then before he could apparel those in fit words; during which profound silence on both sides, interrupted only with some sighs and tears, their hearts did melt with tenderness, like a heap of snow opposed to the sunbeams, and then, being endued with love's magnetical virtue, each of them resolved to themselves to admit of no motions but such as were conformable to the other's desires; which could not be long concealed between them, for nothing is hid to the divine light of lovers' flames, by which they see and talk with each other's thoughts, so that of a sudden a most bright and glorious day of joy rose out of the lap of their late dusky and clouded night of sorrow; and as the sunbeams illuminate the whole hemisphere at one instant, so this mutual consent of their wills banished immediately all dark and uncouth

shadows of discontent, and made all things, even their own tears, smile upon them.

And then to crown their joys with that ceremony which might make them permanent and holy, the minister of those rites joined their hands in that sacred knot which had long before knit their affections, and was now equally welcome on both sides. But Theagenes, being thereunto moved by sundry weighty respects, desired Stelliana, and the rest that were then present, to conceal it for some time; which she for his sake, and for the importance of the reasons, readily consented unto, although till it were discovered it might reflect upon her honor for admitting him to a greater familiarity than belonged to any but a husband.

But their affection could not be carried with such caution, Theagenes neither desiring more than that the certainty of the main should not be precisely known, but that many mouths were filled with various discourses of their familiarity, and some commended, others censured them for it, according to the rule that every one had framed to themselves for their own actions.

[Here follows an account of the birth of their son and their effort to conceal it until Sir Kenelm should have achieved fame and therewith the right to marry where he wished.]

IX

Theagenes now concluded that it was necessary for him to employ himself in some generous action that might give testimony to the world how his affections had nothing impaired the nobleness of his mind, nor abated the edge of his active and vigorous spirits, nor that any private engagements should in him be a warrant to idleness. Whereupon he resolved to undertake speedily something that might tend to the King's service, and gain himself honor and experience; which when he made known to the King, his Majesty gave him an extraordinary and very honorable commission to take in hand a voyage by sea; for the which he made very effectual and diligent preparations, in such sort that all that saw them did from thence prognosticate good success of what he went about; which was the cause that he had so many, and persons of quality, that endeared themselves to be admitted into his

company, that his greatest trouble was to defend himself from their importunity; whereas others, upon like occasion, are fain to employ all their endeavors, and they many times fall short, to win men into their company. But his main difficulty was to persuade Stelliana to take his departure patiently, whose extreme affection made her very averse unto it, so that she would ever and anon accompany her abundant tears with such words as these.

"Is it possible that the day can come wherein my sight doth offend your eyes, or that you should find such amiableness in dangers and tempests, as for the gaining of them to hate my presence? What sin have I committed to alienate me from your affection, or rather, what have I not done to win and preserve it? O my unhappy condition, and beyond all others most miserable, that dependeth upon the inconstancy and mutability of others' minds, which, as it changeth, I am still engaged in new causes of deep sorrow! If not for my sake, yet let this innocent part of you persuade you not to leave him a distressed orphan, and me a desolate widow, to lament your long, or peradventure perpetual absence. Consider that although heretofore it was in your single power to dispose of yourself, yet now I have an interest in you, which I will never be so cruel to myself as to relinquish; and without my consent, you infringe the eternal laws of justice to undertake such an action, and therefore have reason to expect from above rather heavy judgments than blessings to accompany it."

Much to this effect she spoke, issuing from a heart deeply wounded with affection and grief; while Theagenes felt in himself the enchanting effects of a beautiful and beloved woman's tears, and had his soul almost fettered in the golden chain that came from her fair lips, which he no sooner was aware of, but the sense of his honor came to his thoughts, and banished all weak tenderness out of his heart, so that he remained unmovable in his resolutions, although he could not choose but grieve extremely at her sorrow, whom he loved above all temporal respects, and make use of all the arguments that he could bethink himself, to induce her to endure his short absence with patience, and that might serve for her consolation; acquainting her with the motives that induced

him to undertake this voyage, and making her see that although for the present it might be troublesome to her to endure, yet that hereafter it would be the cause of both their complete happiness, since that he was resolved to retire himself to a private life, where, removed from the cumbersome distractions of the court or city, he might without any interruption enjoy the quiet blessings of her sweet conversation, and would then attend to nothing but to love, to ease, and to tranquillity: but that if he should do it abruptly and of a sudden, it could not be without the impeachment of his honor and worldly dignity; and that therefore he chose this way to make a leisurely, secure, and honorable retreat, and as it were with displayed ensigns, which, after such an action that would give testimony of his courage and resolution, all men would say to be made through judgment and highness of a mind despising what the vulgar holdeth most dear and in greatest admiration, and not through a weak, shameful, lazy, or uxorious humor; and therefore he desired her that she would not with her sorrow give him the sad presage of some great ensuing disaster. Upon which discourse of his, although Stelliana could not so suddenly wean her heart from the sense of passionate grief, yet her discretion taught her to contain the expression of it, and by affording her consent to what he had resolved upon, showed how her will depended wholly upon his, howsoever her desires and affections might be repugnant to it when she considered any danger he might incur.

Theagenes then having with incredible diligence got all things in readiness for his voyage, and with equal constancy and magnanamity overcome the many difficulties and oppositions that occurred to him, some of them wrought by a powerful envious hand, as well as by the malignity of fortune, which most men thought would have disordered and overthrown his designs; and having taken leave of all his friends, the last whom he visited, as he was going aboard his ship, was Aristobulus, who then desired him to inform him truly and free from suspense, whether he were married or no: because that, he said, his great familiarity with Stelliana, and her entertaining of it, did make most men believe he was, and yet his not public avowing it did make him doubt it. Where-

upon Theagenes acknowledged ingenuously that he was, but that if he had not asked him he would not have told him, since it was against his disposition to be the deliverer of news to his friends that would be displeasing to them, and he apparently saw that he did not approve of this match; and that the reasons why he did not at the first publicly avow it to the world were many, as the interests of estate, both in respect of her friends and his own, wherein it imported him much to have some things settled before it should be certainly known; and that his familiarity with her which held men's opinions in suspense and doubt . . . [Here two pages are obliterated.]

All which being understood by Aristobulus, he told him that the same friendly affection which had formerly moved him to dissuade him from this match, did now call upon him to cooperate with his ends and to do him service as much as he could; therefore he bade him rest confident that in the time of his absence he would pay to his wife the same respect that he had ever done to him, and would employ his best talents to justify his action and to make others approve it. For the which Theagenes rendered him condign thanks, and at his parting from him, entreated him to believe that he would behave himself in such sort in this voyage, that howsoever fortune might deal with him, he would be sure to win himself honor, without a good share of which he would never return: and that although she should do her worst to him, he would triumph over it all with a glorious death.

After which being spoken, he went into his coach, to go to the port where his ships stayed in readiness for him, and wanted only his presence and a fair wind to set sail; which he brought with him, that gave liberty to many other vessels that had been a long time wind-bound there: and the same day that he embarked himself, he had news by a post sent on purpose to him, of his wife's delivery of a second and hopeful son, whereupon he gave order to her to conceal their marriage no longer.

So that from these auspicious beginnings he might have taken to himself the presage of successful proceedings; but the envious arbiter of men's actions, who will suffer one in this life to taste nothing pure, did all of a sudden so over-

whelm this prosperous entrance with a sea of bitterness, that from the strange difference of estate which twenty days caused in Theagenes's fleet, one might see too evidently how uneonstantly she moveth her wheel; for he had been but a while at sea, when with a settled contrary wind, there came among his men such a violent pestilential disease, and raged with such fury, that in a few days he was reduced to such extremity that there were scarce men enough upon any important occasion to trim the sails. For the nature of it being such, that from those who were infected with it, it took hold of others that were in perfect health, like fire when it is joined to combustible matter, if they did but come within distance of each other's breath, or touch any part of their garments, it came to pass that in a very short time almost all were possessed with it, by reason of the great number of men enclosed in a small room; and although every one strived to avoid those that were sick, whereby they died in much desolation without any help, yet the infection was so rooted in the ship that they could not fly from it: and if natural affection to his friend or charity moved any one to be so tender as to do another the offices belonging to a sick man, many times with a sudden death he prevented the other's languishing one; and by this means it happened often that dead bodies lay many days in their cabins and hamacas, nobody daring to go overlook them, and much less to throw the noisome carcasses overboard, until their intolerable stink discovered them: but sometimes there were of mean fellows that would come to steal what they found about the bodies of those that were of better quality, and then by their own sudden death in the same place, they would bewray their theft. But that which of all others seemed to cause most compassion, was the furious madness of most of those who were near their end, the sickness then taking their brain; and those were in so great abundance that there were scarce men enough to keep them from running overboard, or from creeping out of the ports, the extreme heat of their disease being such that they desired all refreshings, and their depraved fantasy made them believe the sea to be a spacious and pleasant green meadow.

This extremity of evil taught the meanest rank of people what the noblest of philosophy can scarcely do to the most

elevated minds, that is, a most resupine patience in their sufferance; the familiarity and inevitableness of which made them in the end not to apprehend or fear it. But then all the principal officers of the fleet, that were more sensible of the loss of the whole than of their own danger, came with one consent to Theagenes, to represent to him how it was impossible for him to keep the sea and subsist many hours longer, since the mortality was now grown very great, and that there were scarce whole men enough to sail his ship, and the quality of the sickness was so malignant, that they whom in the morning one would have judged most healthful were many times dispatched into the other world before night; therefore they advised and besought him to bear up the helm and return home, deeming it much better rather to bring the ships back, although the voyage were overthrown, than through an indiscreet obstinacy to let them, and all in them, perish in the sea.

But Theagenes, that had a much deeper sense of his honor than of his life and safety, and yet was so highly compassionate of their great evils that he prayed continually, that all the punishments for his or their sins due unto the divine justice, might fall upon his single head, represented to them how in probability the worst counsel they could take would be to return home, since that was now the farthest place of distance that they could go unto, and the long hanging of the winds contrary, was an evident sign that they would shortly veer about to their advantage, that way also being their natural and constant course. Wherefore he told them absolutely, that he would expect with patience the happy hour of a fair gale, and desired them no longer to persuade him to do what he had set his rest upon that he would not; but to concur with him in prayer to the superior powers to favor their designs as they were honorable and just.

And within a few hours, God having sufficiently tried their patience and constancy, the unconstant element filled his sails with prosperous breath, and he did put into Rhodes[1] to relieve his men and take in supplies of many things that were wanting. Where during his stay he temporized so discreetly with the headiness of that barbarous people, and wrought

[1] For Rhodes read Algiers.

himself so much into their good opinion and affection, that he not only procured for himself all that he stood in need of, but settled a very good correspondence between the state of Morea and them, which before was upon exceeding bad terms, and yet imported the Moreans much, and redeemed many Morean captives that had lived there a long time in miserable servitude.

After which he did put to sea again, in prosecution of his former design, which was of a high consequence to the King his master's service, it being to interrupt the great trade of the Athenians in Syria and Egypt for silks and other commodities which those countries yield, that by this means the Moreans might gain it, and make their country the staple for the manufacture and vent of so rich a traffic. And by the way as he sailed on, he met with sundry vessels upon the sea, whom he stayed and examined, and with them all showed singular examples of justice; and particularly with those that were enemies, of humanity and clemency.

But when he came to Alexandretta, where was the period of his design, he found there a great strength of Athenian vessels, and some Cyprian ones, that did not content themselves with saying that they would defend their companions and friends, there being a straight league Athens and Cyprus,[2] but also warned him to go immediately out of the port, or otherwise they would sink his ships; so presumptuously confident they were of their formidable vessels, which were made with such admirable force and art, that until this hour no ships durst ever attempt to resist them.

But Theagenes, that thought valiant deeds would be the best answer to their vain words, and that, doubting such entertainment, had made exact preparations for a fight, as one that, deemed caution with valor to be the first step to victory; calling his chief men together, made an oration to them, such a one as the shortness of the time permitted, calling to their minds their past victories that they had gloriously obtained together, and how they had been absolute lords of the sea in all places where yet they came; and representing to them how their enemies had nothing but a loud airy name, not won by any proper merit, but given to the force of their vessels,

[2] Athens and Cyprus represent France and Venice.

which would be of no effect if not well managed, and would only serve to add glory to his victory; whereas they had all won honor by their heroic actions, and every one of them deserved to command a navy; and the vast multitude of his enemies would but beget confusion, whereas he knew the names and worth of every one of his, and they were all trained up to his discipline and to the sudden and true understanding of his commands; and therefore bade them go on to a certain conquest, praying God that if himself were here to end his life, yet his fleet might return safe home, and he be brought back not in a funeral but in a triumphal pomp.

Which being spoken with notable vigor and alacrity of courage, that was enough to assure the faintest heart, he begun the charge with his own admiral ship against that of the enemy's, and in like manner every one of his fleet took to task an adversary, who did not long hold out, but after the loss of many men, and their vessels being upon terms of sinking, if the fight had continued any longer to keep them from mending their leaks, wherein it appeared what discreet fury could do against men that had more confidence in their floating castles and in their multitude than in their own virtue. The Cyprians sent an humble message to beg a shameful peace; and at the same instant he boarded and took by force the Athenian vessels, so that in a few hours he got a glorious victory, and gave testimony to the world, that a discreet and stayed valor is not to be resisted in what it undertaketh, although at the first sight it may seem to attempt things with much disadvantage.

X

If these loose papers should have the fortune to fall into any man's hands, to the which they were never designed, I desire that this last scrawl may beg pardon for the rest; all which I am so far from justifying, that I know the only way to preserve me from censure, is the not owning of them. But since the remembrance of the original cause that hath drawn these lines from me, is so sweet, that I cannot choose but nourish whatsoever refresheth it in me, which appeared in that I had not the power to sacrifice these trifles in the fire, whereunto my judgment had condemned them; and that if

ever they come to be seen by any, their author and scope cannot choose but be known, my follies being therein so lively expressed, that no hand but my own could have traced them so exactly, I will ingenuously confess how I came to spend any time upon so vain a subject, hoping that I may in some measure be excused when it shall be known that in the weaving of this loose web, which was done without any art or care, I employed only the few empty spaces of tedious hours, which would have been in danger to have been worse filled if I had not taken hold of this occasion of diversion, which my continual thoughts administered me.

You that read, then, may take notice that after a long and violent storm, which took me between Rhodes and Candie, and separated from me all the vessels of my fleet, it was my misfortune to fall in with the island of Milo; where, while I stayed to mend the defects of a leaky ship, and to expect the relics of the tempest's fury, I was courteously invited ashore by a person of quality of that place; whereunto, when I had settled my important business in a good train, I willingly condescended, being very confident of the friendliness of that people, but more in the strength that I had there, which was such, that they had more reason to beware doing me any displeasure, than I to fear any attempt of theirs; and hoping, that through the pleasantness of that place and the conveniences of the shore, I might somewhat refresh myself, who was then much distempered in body and suffered great affliction in my mind.

But more time passing before my other ships came thither to me than in reason I could expect, and my books, which use to be my faithful and never failing companions, being all left aboard through the negligence, or rather mistake of my servant, who thought I would not have stayed longer than one night ashore, I passed my time there with much solitude, and my best entertainment was with my own thoughts; which being contrary to the manner of most men, unless it be when melancholy hath seized their minds, who deem no state delightful that is not quickened by exterior pleasures, I soon perceived that my courteous host was much troubled at my retirement, and omitted nothing that might avail to divert me from it; and among other things, made me a liberal offer to

interest me in the good graces of several of the most noted beauties of that place, who in all ages have been known to be no niggards of their favors, which might peradventure have been welcomely accepted by another that had like me had youth, strength, and a long time of being at sea to excuse him if he had yielded to such a temptation.

But I, that had fresh in my soul, the idea of so divine and virtuous a beauty, that others, in balance with hers, did not serve to show the weakness and misery of their sex, thought it no mastery to overcome it: but yet was in some perplexity how to refuse my friend's courtesy, without seeming uncivil. In the end, after some debate with myself, I concluded that the best way for me would be to pretend some serious business, which of necessity did call upon me to write many dispatches, and into several places; and thus, without his offense or suspicion, I might enjoy solitude and liberty. Indeed, my pretense was not altogether a feigned one, many extraordinary accidents having involved me in several intricacies, but my facility of setting down on paper my low conceptions having been ever very great, I soon made an end of what concerned business, and then continuing my former method of contemplation, which I did with the more devotion, having overcome the late assault, I soon found that one's thoughts and mind may outwork themselves by being too eagerly and too long fixed upon one object, and withal, many times the memory of some passages which afforded me great delight, stole unexpectedly upon me, I having of long time before forgotten them, and being then fearful of doing the like again.

This was the cause that having pen, ink, and paper by me, I deemed it both a good diversion for the present, and pains that would hereafter administer me much content, to set down in writing my wandering fantasies as they presented themselves to me; which I did suddenly in loose sheets of borrowed paper, and that in not so full a manner as might be intelligible to any other; but so that to me, who was thoroughly acquainted with all the dependencies of them, it might serve for an index to reduce the rest into my remembrance. Wherefore I give warning beforehand, that no man hath reason to lose any time in perusing so trivial a discourse

of a young and unstayed head as this is; which was at the first begun only for my own recreation, and then continued and since preserved only for my own private content.

If my endeavors of keeping it from all men's view will not prevail, as I doubt not but they will, then this advertisement of mine is vain, and will perish in as much darkness as I desire the papers may they it accompanieth. But since no man is so sure of anything that is out of himself, but that for the future some accident may alter or cross what he hath disposed, though never so probably contrived, I thought fit, since that I intend to keep them awhile by me, to please myself in looking back upon my past and sweet errors, to say thus much in my own excuse, to the end that I may not be thought to have grown unto such a height of immodesty, as to desire that my follies may after me remain upon record.

Therefore, whosoever it is that may meet with this, after some fatal shot may have taken me out of the world, I entreat him to do me this last friendly office, to be the executioner of my first intentions herein, and convert these blotted sheets into a clear flame; which funeral fire will be welcome obsequies to my departed soul, who till then will be in continual fear that the world may have occasion to renew the memory of my indiscretion, and condemn me then as much for want of judgment in writing, as formerly it hath done for too deep passion in my actions. For the present I will say no more; but will continue my prayers to God for a fair wind, to bring me once again to see that person whose memory begot this discourse.

THE END

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